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DEFENSE SYSTEM BASED ON SELF-RELIANCE EXTOLLED

Tirana ZERI I POLULLIT in Albanian 9 Feb 82 pp 2-3

[Article by Ali Vukatana: "Let Us Assimilate as Deeply as Possible the Ideas of the 8th Congress of the Party--the Party Does Not Rely on Foreign Aid or Circumstances for the Defense of the Fatherland"]

[Text] During the 8th Party Congress, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that "Our party has never relied on foreign help or on various international situations for the defense of the fatherland, but has mainly depended on internal factors: on the strength, patriotism and bravery of our people and on complete preparedness and the consistent combat readiness of the whole nation to defend the country." This has been and remains one of the basic principles of the general Marxist-Leninist and military line of our party, which runs like a red thread through the entire organization and activity in the area of training the soldier-people to successfully confront every possible imperialist-revisionist aggression.

The history of the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and the period of socialist construction in our country fully attest to the correctness of this principle, which our party has faithfully followed. Our party has assimilated the experiences gained in every stage of our revolution, has continuously increased vigilance and has taken the necessary measures to ensure and continuously strengthen the defensive powers of the fatherland by relying on our own internal forces.

Expressions of this farsighted Marxist-Leninist policy are the perfecting, by the party and by Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, of our Military Art of the People's Struggle, the arming of all the people for defense, the continuous perfecting of our military organization, the creation of Free Military Schools and the bringing of military arms and techniques as close as possible to production centers and to our working people and soldiers, improving the Theater of Combat Activities in all its complexity, achieving complete dedication to the interests of socialist construction and the protection of the fatherland and safeguarding and strengthening the popular revolutionary character of our army, not as an army separated from the people, but as an organized and modern army with steel-like discipline, politically and ideologically aware consolidated and organized, united as one with the armed and militarily-prepared people.

The party has constantly made it clear to the people that the socialist fatherland is defended with arms in hand by the people themselves and no one else, because to successfully confront the imperialist-revisionist blockade and come out victorious, requires a continuous strengthening of the steel-like unity around the party, raising vigilance to a higher level. It requires political and ideological maturity, a deep understanding of the party line and its implementation with unshakeable faith, high conscientiousness, fiery patriotism, iron discipline and perfect organization.

The thorough evaluation of these matters, which are among the most sacred for us, has been reflected and continues to be reflected, better and better, in the military preparation of the entire armed people and the people's army as an indivisible part of the party, based on the influence our Military Art of the People's struggle. This art is indisputably superior to that of the enemy because it relies on Marxism-Leninism, on the experience of our Anti-Fascist National Liberation War and on the experiences of other peoples' revolutionary wars. Our defense has had and will always have the true character of a people's defense, because our party has not moved a bit from the principle of the line of the masses in the military preparation of the entire country to ensure success in the People's War. Under the leadership of the party and according to the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, our people and our army, with high morale and with the proletarian virtues and attributes which characterize them, enthusiastically assimilate and creatively implement our Military Art. They know why they are getting ready, why they are fighting and what they will defend in case of danger.

Armed with the Marxist-Leninist ideology of the party and with firearms, our people are aware that under no circumstance can we rely on foreign aid or various international situations for the defense of the fatherland. The party took in time, and it is continuing to perfect in every way, measures to make the defense of the fatherland unbreakable. The different theories on "detente" and "international aid"; the tale of "European security" etc, are delusions and nothing more; therefore, the party teaches the armed forces in all their structures and all the people to devotedly and intelligently implement the party's directives and instructions: keeping their revolutionary vigilance up and their military preparedness high in order to defend the freedom and independence of the socialist fatherland.

The historic decisions of the 8th Party Congress have opened new horizons and perspectives and have set down even greater tasks for this area. The conditions and capabilities the party has created for an overall strengthening of the defense capabilities of the fatherland, by relying on our own forces, are without comparison. However, at the present stage, the work of the party and its levers must respond better to these conditions and capabilities by developing a more profound education for the people, which will strengthen everywhere the firm belief in the vitality of socialism and the absolute necessity of defending it with our own forces, from all internal or external dangers. Concrete realistic educational work will further strengthen socialist patriotism and will serve to increase political vigilance and revolutionary class convictions against the many-sided bourgeois-revisionist pressures, and against euphoric manifestations that "the enemy does not dare to attack us" etc.

Greater care must be devoted to the work of assimilating and creatively implementing our Military Art of the People's struggle. Instilling and further strengthening deep convictions for the assimilation and creative implementation of this art, are very necessary conditions to assure the defense of the fatherland and a decisive victory over the enemies. This necessitates a new impetus for the revolutionizing of the political and military preparedness of the people, to assure higher efficiency and maximum results in every type of training, to perfect even more the methods of their management, organization and development; it requires a sound knowledge of the system of combat readiness and the use of the terrain, while supporting and encouraging, in every possible way, advanced scientific thought. Our military art is and must become even more the property of all the people, of every soldier-citizen and citizen-soldier capable of bearing arms.

The party has never separated the defense of the fatherland from the construction of socialism. The people and the army in our country are in complete unity. And precisely because of this continuously improving relationship and implementation of political, ideological, economic and military tasks in undivided unity, the defense of our fatherland has become even more impregnable. Although this unity has been built on sound foundations in every respect, it is actually still necessary to strengthen and perfect it even further so that all our people, in the terrain and in the army, any place where soldiers are trained, think and act with the same politically mature proletarian class judgment, with the same discipline and military spirit, with the same organization and strong need to economize in the production areas as well as in the defense areas, because every step we take today, in any area of social activity, must be considered as a preparatory measure for defense.

Our people and our army have been equipped with powerful modern arms and techniques to confront every enemy or coalition of enemies. The principle of man's superiority over arms is the basic principle of our Military Art of the People's struggle. But this does not mean that arms must be underrated or neglected. Our party has always followed the principle that the more we are prepared politically and militarily and the more skillfully we use the arms we have, the better and stronger the defense capabilities of the fatherland will become, and the less the enemy will hurt us. All attitudes of underestimation in this matter and every bit of negligence in preserving the complete combat readiness arms and techniques has harmful consequences. Therefore, the work of the party and the party levers is concentrated on instilling deeper and strengthening further correct concepts and the belief in the effectiveness of our arms, on belief in the mastery of these arms by all our defense structure, on achieving the maximum combat productivity and on a highly-skilled knowledge of their technical and tactical use and on keeping and maintaining them like the apple of our eye.

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BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV GIVES INTERVIEW TO PERGAMON PRESS PRESIDENT MAXWELL

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Jan 82 pp 1-4

[Answers by Todor Zhivkov to questions asked by Robert Maxwell, president of the Pergamon Press publishing house: "Steady All-Round Upsurge and Systematic Course of Peace and Cooperation"]

[Text] The following are the answers which Todor Zhivkov, BCP Central Committee general secretary and chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, gave to questions asked by Robert Maxwell, publisher and president of Pergamon Press, the Anglo-American publishing company.

The interview is a segment of the book of works by the leader of our party and state, which was published by Pergamon Press in Great Britain in November 1981. It is part of the series "World Leaders" and is entitled "Todor Zhivkov--Statesman and Builder of New Bulgaria." Robert Maxwell is editor in chief.

Robert Maxwell: Dear Mr President, what explains the fact that you have held the highest political and state position in your country for such a long time?

Todor Zhivkov: I find this question difficult to answer. I hope that you will not ask of me to assess my own political and practical qualities. Let us leave this to the future.

You probably know that I have been a member of the Bulgarian Communist Party for half a century. I was a fighter in the front line of its difficult struggle in the period of clandestinity and armed resistance to fascist dictatorship for about 15 years. After the victory of the socialist revolution, I carried out whatever assignments were entrusted to me by the party. I was elected BCP Central Committee first secretary in 1954. I was reelected at the historic April 1956 BCP Central Committee Plenum as Central Committee first secretary and have been reelected to this position at all subsequent party congresses. The 12th BCP Congress restored our party's traditional position of BCP Central Committee general secretary and elected me to hold this position. I have always felt a profound gratitude and filial responsibility for this high trust and have always tried with all my work and behavior to dedicate a maximum effort, energy and knowledge to justify it.

I personally consider my appointment as BCP Central Committee general secretary a new and responsible assignment, an obligation to work even more energetically and purposefully for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress, the triumph of its April line and the building of a mature socialist society in my fatherland.

Robert Maxwell: What is your view on the possibility of retiring and taking a deserved rest after so many years of earnest work for your country and party?

Todor Zhivkov: Frankly speaking, I have not given this possibility any particular thought. I believe, however, that it is entirely natural for any person who, working tirelessly, reaches a certain age gradually. You know, I have three grandsons and a natural wish to devote greater attention and concern to them. I would also like to have more free time to read and reread books by authors I love....However, here again we meet with some written and unwritten laws of our party which I must take into consideration as a conscientious and disciplined communist.

The rule which remains from the period of the struggle for social freedom is that for as long as this struggle goes on there neither is nor could there be any rest for the communist-revolutionary. He remains at his post for as long as he lives and is full of energy. After the victory of the socialist revolution, the retirement of a party member is something rather relative. Even after they retire, most party members keep working for as long as they can contribute their knowledge and organizational and practical experience serving the party and society. No one but themselves urges them to do so!

That is precisely why our party bylaws set no age limit on membership or leading work.

The biological limits and the limits of the mental and physical possibilities of doing full-time work, which are taken into consideration in defining retirement age, have probably been scientifically substantiated. However, they are largely no more than an arithmetical average.

Such is my answer to your somewhat provocative question. I can assure you, however, that what is certain that is my decision to retire or not does not depend exclusively on my personal wishes and considerations but on many other circumstances which I must take into consideration as well. We, Bulgarians, like to joke, and let me tell you in this connection that one of my ancestors--Grandpa Vulko Zhivkovski--lived to be almost 107 years old and felt sprightly and far from old to the very last day of his life....

Robert Maxwell: Allow me, Mr Zhivkov, to offer my deepest condolences on the subject of the premature death of your daughter, Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Committee on Culture.

Todor Zhivkov: Thank you.

Robert Maxwell: The Bulgarian people were profoundly saddened by the death of Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova. Hundreds of heads of state and governments, leaders of communist and workers parties, politicians and cultural personalities the world over extended their condolences to the Bulgarian people, the BCP Central Committee and you personally on the occasion of such a severe loss. All of

this confirms the great importance of the activities of Mrs Lyudmila Zhivkova in the development of Bulgarian culture and its dissemination and growing prestige in dozens of countries. Let me ask you in this connection how Mrs Zhivkova's plan for "esthetic education" (defined as "awareness of the vital need to live in accordance with the superior laws of truth and beauty") agrees with the more orthodox, if I may use this expression, objectives of "communist education"?

Todor Zhivkov: The greater material and spiritual possibilities of our country at the stage of developed socialist society naturally trigger qualitatively new processes in social development. One of the basic objectives of the program for esthetic education at the present stage is to enhance theoretical and practical activities in shaping the new personality on the level of contemporary science. Our social management today has reached a level of maturity which makes scientifically controlled complex processes in the spiritual area possible. On the other hand, mankind's present--the enhanced spiritual and intellectual needs of the people, the tempestuous development of science, and the difficulties and acute problems facing our planet at the end of the 20th century--objectively raises the question of the overall comprehensive development of the individual. We believe that the fullest solution of this problem is possible only under the conditions of a developed socialist and communist society.

It is no accident that it is precisely now that the Bulgarian Communist Party has made the task of esthetic education a nationwide project, an important party and state task. We consider the development of a nationwide esthetic education program an essential component of the communist education of the people, for this task is consistent with the final objective of the communist ideal--the creation of spiritually complete individuals, of active creators who are building the communist system. In our country we do not speak of esthetic education in general but of the type of esthetic education which molds the new man, which shapes not only talents, works of art and activities but which also awakens and develops the organically inherent creative gifts of every individual.

The program for esthetic education is not an element separate from the social processes in our country but is precisely the opposite: it meets a real need which develops at a certain stage in the development of our society toward mature socialism. It is only a system which eliminates the antagonism between man and society, between man and man and between man and nature that can assign itself the specific and realistic historical objective of ensuring the all-round harmonious development and manifestation of the creative principle in man. Acting in close interaction with the remaining ideological-educational factors and components of communist upbringing, esthetic education participates actively and directly in the development of a communist outlook and behavior.

Therefore, it is a question not of a mechanical combination of a project with the basic concepts of communist education or, to use your expression, the "orthodox objectives of communist education," but of an exceptionally important process in terms of the spiritual growth of our nation, of the all-round training of the young generation for life and for the solution of the major problems which face our country.

Robert Maxwell: What is your view concerning state relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and on the prospects for their future development?

Todor Zhivkov: The historical relations between our two countries have experienced various period. This is not the place to discuss each one of them in detail.

If you look at Bulgarian history textbooks you will come across the names of many noted British political and cultural personalities who, more than a century ago, boldly spoke out in support of the liberation struggle of our people. If you visit our biggest cities such as Sofia and Plovdiv, you will walk on streets named after William Gladstone, Lady Stratford, the brothers Buxton and Maj Frank Thompson, who died for the freedom of Bulgaria as commanding officer of the British military mission to the Bulgarian partisans in World War II. It is our view that this must be the solid foundation on which our relations must be built.

It seems to me that in terms of our country, which has changed significantly over the past 3 decades, a certain inertia from the past seems to remain in Great Britain. It is true that Bulgaria is not among the largest countries in Eastern Europe. However, if we compare our state relations with Great Britain with relations we maintain with the FRG, France or Italy, the lag becomes obvious. Here is one example only: our two countries have maintained diplomatic relations for more than a century but to this day no visits between our ministers of foreign affairs have been exchanged.

Let me reemphasize that there are grounds for the development of state relations between our two countries. The Bulgarian people are well acquainted with English culture. The works of English writers, both classic and modern, have been published in our country in large editions. Our theaters stage plays not only by Shakespeare and Oscar Wilde or Bernard Shaw, but by modern British playwrights as well. The works of British composers and of your painters are well known and appreciated. The first exhibit by the sculptor Henry Moore in our country took place more than 20 years ago. This year, his works were shown in Bulgaria once again. I was informed that our exhibit of "Thracian treasures" at the British Museum was seen by more than 400,000 people in under 3 months. Other Bulgarian exhibits in Great Britain have had great success. In recent years, the number of British tourists visiting Bulgaria has been increasing steadily.

Our position on the development of relations with Great Britain is the same as the one shown toward the other Western European countries. It is based on the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social system, total equality and mutual respect.

In my view, raising the political level of relations between Great Britain and Bulgaria would also contribute to broadening contacts between our countries in other areas such as economics and culture and to strengthening the understanding and cooperation among countries on our continent and detente, which is in the interest not only of our nations but of peace in Europe and throughout the world. We sincerely believe that there are no insurmountable objective reasons for not energizing our relations.

Robert Maxwell: Trade relations with Great Britain are good but indicate an imbalance in favor of Great Britain. In 1979 British exports to Bulgaria totaled 27 million pounds compared with Bulgarian exports to Great Britain, which totaled 12 million. What measures are being taken to improve the competitiveness of Bulgarian goods on the Western market, more particularly in Great Britain?

Todor Zhivkov: If we look at current data on trade between the two countries, we will see an increase of about 75 percent between 1971 and 1979. However, in terms of fixed prices and taking inflation into consideration, we would see that despite our wishes, during the past decade economic relations between the two countries have essentially remained on the same level. Furthermore, if we compare the development of trade between Great Britain and Bulgaria in the 1970's with the tempestuous development which occurred in the period of improved economic relations between East and West, we see that our trade relations are lagging behind this general growth. Great Britain and Bulgaria have strongly developed foreign economic contacts. However, the share of our reciprocal trade remains rather low for both our countries. This indicates the existence of great opportunities in this connection.

For the sake of comparison, let me point out the development of economic relations between Bulgaria and the FRG or between Bulgaria and France, which are several times higher than our relations with Great Britain.

I would use this as a starting point in answering the second part of your question. As our trade with other developed countries proves, the problem does not lie merely in the competitiveness of Bulgarian goods. In my view, the level of our economic relations reflects the general level of relations between Bulgaria and Great Britain. Other factors are present as well, naturally, such as the still-insufficient familiarity with our export potential on the part of British firms and merchants.

The very substantial different in the balance of payments in favor of Great Britain is due to a variety of reasons, mainly the structure of our trade with your country. Our exports consist essentially of fuels, mineral raw materials, metals and foodstuffs, i.e., goods requiring a relatively lower level of processing and the prices of which are not rising as rapidly as the prices of machinery and equipment on the international market. Conversely, we import above all expensive mineral raw materials and equipment, chemicals and rubber, the international price of which is high.

It is clear that such a trade structure dominated by goods subject to considerable circumstantial changes does not create a stable base for the development of bilateral trade. I believe that we should try to broaden industrial cooperation and conclude long-term agreements. At the same time, more favorable conditions should be secured for trade in traditional commodities, for they account for a considerable portion of our reciprocal trade.

The joining of the EEC by Great Britain and the restrictions imposed on the import of Bulgarian goods have had an adverse effect on our reciprocal trade. This negative influence could be largely eliminated by including the Bulgarian People's Republic in the generalized EEC customs preferential system for which we applied some time ago. The British are one of the oldest trading nations in the world and know very well that one of the basic laws of trade is that if you want to sell you must also buy.

Increasing trade between our two countries is of mutual interest. Your plants manufacture high-quality machines and equipment sought by Bulgaria. On the other hand, our economy is planned, which makes us a stable partner. A long-term agreement between our governments would broaden our trade, which would benefit both the Bulgarian and the British people.

Robert Maxwell: What is Bulgaria's current attitude toward "joint enterprises" with developed capitalist countries (which was not mentioned in the theses of the 12th congress)?

Todor Zhivkov: The resolutions passed at the 12th BCP Congress, particularly those dealing with the country's foreign economic relations, note that over the next 10 years Bulgaria's foreign economic relations with the developed capitalist countries will be expanded and intensified on an equal and mutually profitable basis.

It is true that the materials of the congress do not make particular mention of the creation of mixed companies. However, our position in this area is known, clear and constructive. As in the past, our legislation provides for a great variety of economic, industrial and market cooperation between Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and companies in the capitalist countries. Such forms of cooperation were used in the general agreements concluded between Bulgarian economic and foreign trade organizations and British companies such as Cadbury Schweppes, ICI, Shell and Northern Engineering Industries. As of March 1980, by special ukase of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, additional opportunities and legal prerequisites were established for the creation of mixed companies in all areas of economic activity in our country. The ukase provides opportunities for extensive and flexible forms of economic cooperation and allows the partners freedom to decide on the ways and means of joint activities.

Our country is ready to study most attentively all suggestions for cooperation, which are of reciprocal interest, regardless of whether it is a question of a mixed company or any other form of cooperation. So far, however, British firms have not shown any particular initiative in this respect, and the reasons for this should not be sought in our country.

Robert Maxwell: A committee was set up in Great Britain to provide consultations and help in the organization of initiatives for the celebration of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of Bulgaria. What are the most important measures planned in this respect? Do they include initiatives such as the "Thracian treasures" exhibit or the exhibit of Bulgarian icons from the Alexander Nevskiy Church, which enjoyed great success in Great Britain?

Todor Zhivkov: Allow me first of all to thank the leadership and members of the anniversary committee for their active efforts which are contributing to the better reciprocal acquaintanceship between our peoples.

This autumn a number of initiatives will be carried out in Great Britain in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the founding of Bulgaria. Through them we shall try to give your public a broader view of the achievements of the Bulgarian People's Republic in the areas of culture, art, science and economics, and of our overall development, particularly in the socialist period.

Allow me to mention a few initiatives of which I have been informed: the contemporary Bulgarian art exhibit, the ethnographic exhibit, the concerts of the Dimov String Quartet and the forthcoming tour of the Trakiya Folklore Ensemble. Other forthcoming joint scientific symposia on a variety of problems pertaining to Bulgarian-British scientific, economic and other relations will be of interest. Some activities in Great Britain will deal with our economic accomplishments and will illustrate the possibilities of our country as a trading partner.

Allow me to emphasize that the successes achieved so far in the area of cultural cooperation between our countries is a good example of what can be accomplished in other areas of mutual relations.

Robert Maxwell: The way events in Northern Ireland were reflected in the Bulgarian press in hostile commentaries (in RABOTNICHESKO DELO, for example) was insulting to Great Britain. Would you agree that speaking of "British imperialism," considering that Northern Ireland is part of the United Kingdom, is equivalent to "deliberate disinformation"?

Todor Zhivkov: I can understand your greater sensitivity to this matter, particularly today, when the topic of Northern Ireland is a permanent feature in the world press. I do not consider, however, that a reflection of events in Northern Ireland by the Bulgarian mass information media could be characterized as "hostile" or as "disinformation." Our publications are trying to provide an objective picture of what is taking place throughout the world. The photographs which our press publishes and the films on Northern Ireland shown on television have been taken mainly by British and Western journalists.

When people die every day in a country, when young people die from hunger strikes proclaimed on behalf of a humane cause, you must agree that the Bulgarian journalists, like many journalists in Britain and the West, cannot remain indifferent. This is not only a professional but a human duty, and it would be entirely unfair to accuse them of nonexistent sins or hostile feelings toward Great Britain. It is just as natural for our journalists to have the same free right of publishing political commentaries on any given event in the world as their colleagues in the capitalist countries. It is indicative that in the case of Northern Ireland both express virtually identical views. I do now know how you feel about it, but I find this proper.

As far as the profound respect which the Bulgarian people feel for the achievements of the British people and their culture, a number of proofs can be offered, as I hope you have been able to see.

Robert Maxwell: What distinguishes the "new economic approach" described in the theses of the 12th BCP Congress from previous attempts at reform and, particularly, the "new economic system" of August 1968?

Todor Zhivkov: Your question leads us to an area which may be found boring by many. That is why I shall try to be extremely brief.

Naturally, new problems arise in the course of building a developed socialist society, which began in our country toward the end of the 1960's. They affect both the future development of production forces and the improvement of production relations.

When we speak of a new economic approach, this does not mean that we are departing from the basic principles of the socialist management of the national economy. On the contrary, it is a question of a new approach to management, based on the fundamental principles of socialist economic management.

Allow me to emphasize that this new approach has nothing in common with the concepts of uncontrolled marketplace mechanisms. However, it makes the economic organization of society far more consistent with the effect of objective economic laws and the objective laws of socialism.

The new economic approach and its mechanism are the natural extension and advancement of the management system adopted by our party in the 1960's.

The new economic approach is an overall comprehensive system of economic means, methods, forms and mechanisms for influencing and regulating, which combines most completely and comprehensively the areas of management, planning, production and distribution.

What are the main features of the new economic approach and the mechanism for its implementation?

First: scope is provided for the overall utilization of commodity-monetary relations and the systematic application of cost effectiveness. Commodity-monetary relations and related economic levers objective exist at the present stage of development of the socialist society. Because of insufficient historical experience, Marx predicted that they would exist only during the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. On the basis of a profound analysis, Lenin drew the conclusion that commodity-monetary relations will operate in the mature socialist society as well.

In our economic practice we do not underestimate or ignore commodity-monetary relations but use in the interest of socialist progress. It is on this basis that cost effectiveness and its nucleus--the self-support of each organization, enterprise or economic and social activity--is being systematically applied.

We know that in the course of building the material and technical foundations for socialism there was a period during which the state was forced to finance some big enterprises and even entire sectors. This was inevitable. However, it also enabled our country to convert from agrarian into an industrial-agrarian socialist state, considered powerful in terms of its scale.

Today the necessary prerequisites for making each sector and enterprise profitable have already been created.

Second: the centralized planned management by the state, based on socialist ownership, is the main advantage of our society. The task is to make use of this advantage on all management levels.

In recent years, the state has defined as mandatory no more than a few main economic indicators of the plan, which guarantee basic proportions and balances.

On the basis of these indicators, each enterprise, organization or labor collective formulates its own plan. In the course of its formulation, contracts

are concluded on the need for resources and the marketing of produced goods. It is thanks to this mechanism that the national economy is balanced from top to bottom. On the other hand, conditions are created for enterprises to develop the creativity and initiative of workers and specialists, who are the producers of the goods. Consequently, with the new economic mechanism, centralism and democracy are combined in such a way as to offer broad scope for self-initiative and highly effective output.

Third: the implementation of the plan is assured essentially through economic means and regulators. Prices, profits, credits, taxes, bonuses, etc, are used far more flexibly. The role of profits and profitability is particularly enhanced. In this manner the centralized planned management is based essentially on economic means, on the principle of economic incentive and economic responsibility.

Fourth: the socialist principle of payment according to the quantity and quality of labor is applied in a new way. It is based on the requirement that wages are tied to the income of the enterprise.

Fifth: the new economic mechanism enables the producers to take their goods to the domestic and foreign markets and reach the consumer directly. Each economic organization can organize its own marketing-procurement and foreign trade activities.

Briefly stated, these are the basic distinguishing features of the new economic approach and its mechanism.

Robert Maxwell: The Bulgarian economy has shown a phenomenal growth during the past 10 years. Nevertheless, the indicators of the Bulgarian Seventh Five-Year Plan (1976-1980) were not reached in all sectors. There was a considerable lag in agricultural production: the plan called for a [20] percent increase for the period whereas the increase was 12 percent. Does this mean that the agroindustrial complexes, which were welcomed as an original Bulgarian form, did not meet expectations?

Todor Zhivkov: Allow me to point out above all that in the Seventh Five-Year Plan our economy continued to maintain one of the highest rates of development in the world. The achievements of the entire Sixth Five-Year Plan were considerably exceeded in only 4 years (1976-1979). These successes become even clearer if we bear in mind that they were achieved despite exceptionally difficult and complex international circumstances and adverse natural weather conditions.

The 1976-1980 period was characterized by the aggravation of the raw material-energy and monetary crisis in the capitalist world. Prices of raw materials, fuels and equipment increased by several hundred percent. Ours is an open economy, for which reason these factors affected the implementation of the Seventh Five-Year Plan. We suffered substantial losses from price differentials alone.

The BCP Central Committee charted a firm course toward the identification of internal reserves and the rapid adaptation of the economy to the new conditions. As a result of the steps which were taken, this adaptation was concluded as early as 1979 rather than 1981.

During the Seventh Five-Year Plan our agriculture was forced to surmount a number of objective difficulties. Adverse climatic conditions and natural disasters, which took place during almost the entire 5-year period, resulted in losses in the national income. That is why we mobilized the entire economic potential of our country to compensate for the damages. The measures taken by the agroindustrial complexes enabled us not only to harvest, store and utilize agricultural commodities on time and without losses but to guarantee the further stable development of agriculture. It is precisely this that proves that the agroindustrial complexes are viable, flexible and stable even under the most adverse economic and natural conditions.

Robert Maxwell: Will the private plots in your country be expanded?

Todor Zhivkov: It is a known fact that as early as 1957 the Bulgarian People's Republic was the first after the Soviet Union to complete the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis and to put an end to private farming once and for all. Within a short time our country reached the level of agriculturally developed countries in the rest of the world. This success is partially due to the private plots which we consider a natural extension of public farming.

Private farm workers are given land plots for personal use, the sizes of which are determined by the bylaws on the organization and functioning of the National Agroindustrial union. The size of the private plot varies from one area to another. It is determined by the general meeting of agroindustrial complexes. The legal and economic status of these plots is substantially different from that of the plots of the former private farmers. They are not owned by them but are merely granted by the agroindustrial complexes for use and for cultivation exclusively by the family, without the right to exploit outside labor.

The private plot enables us to make fuller and more efficient use of manpower resources in the individual families and to obtain additional farm produce both for personal needs and for the market. On the other hand, this increases the export possibilities of the public farms.

The system of self-satisfaction of the population for basic agricultural commodities, which has been applied over the past few years, has led to the making of a number of improvements in the functioning and stimulation of the private plots. Land unsuitable for mechanized cultivation or temporarily abandoned by the public farms was granted also to urban workers and employees. With a 5-day work week and reduced heavy manual labor, there are many people who are willing to spend their free time in raising some special crops, vegetables, animals or flowers. This enables them to improve their health, to add to their meals fresh, high-quality products and even to earn additional income. So far, more than 700,000 decares of land have been allocated under this system in our country.

Robert Maxwell: The new Bulgarian five-year plan is described as a "five-year plan of technical progress." Is the more extensive use of foreign technology, Western in particular, being planned? What is to be understood by the reassertion of "self-sufficiency"? (Between 1981 and 1985 the volume of foreign trade was increased by a relatively modest 40 percent, compared with the nearly 100-percent increase which was achieved in 1976-1980.)

Todor Zhivkov: The level of production forces which was reached and the exhausted objective possibilities of further extensive development required that the Eighth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) be oriented mainly toward extensive development of the economy and the other areas of social life.

The practical implementation of comprehensive intensification requires the accelerated application of scientific and technical progress. Our objective is to make above all a proper choice and make able use of the best Bulgarian and foreign scientific and technical accomplishments and most effective trends in scientific and technical progress and to combine them expediently with the rational utilization of the already existing production potential. That is why we pay particular attention to active cooperation with Eastern and Western countries.

Naturally, the basic prerequisite for such cooperation is to be mutually profitable and equal, properly balanced. Corresponding laws which call for joint production-technical and trade activities between Bulgarian enterprises and Western companies on Bulgarian territory, on the territory of our partners or in third countries, were passed in our country in recent years. This will enable us to enhance the technological standard of the joint products, to broaden marketing opportunities, to increase foreign exchange income and, naturally, to ensure long-term possibilities for mutually profitable economic and scientific and technical cooperation.

In order to ensure the fuller and more comprehensive satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people, we shall make maximal use of the great reserves of the Bulgarian economy. This will limit the country's dependence on importing commodities which it could produce itself, thus becoming self-sufficient. However, this neither is nor could constitute a reason for limiting economic cooperation with nonsocialist countries. If such reasons nevertheless exist, their origins must be sought elsewhere--in the crisis of the Western economy and in their policy of economic discrimination and restrictions. Despite this, thanks to the measures we have taken, the absolute volume of our trade with the nonsocialist countries has not declined. It will continue to increase in the future, for the export possibilities of our economy will be increasing steadily.

Robert Maxwell: How do you intend to compensate for price increases in fuels, energy, raw materials, etc?

Todor Zhivkov: Naturally, our economy is also affected by the increased prices of basic fuels, energy and raw materials on the international capitalist markets. We have compensated for such price increases mainly with the help of two factors:

First: the great reserves found in all sectors of our economy.

Second: the advantages offered to us by socialist economic integration, particularly our close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the CEMA-member countries.

We also intend to use other factors such as production modernization and comprehensive intensification through the accelerated application of scientific achievements; the economical and efficient utilization of raw materials and energy resources, particularly those of domestic origin.

We are trying to attain better results with lower material outlays by reducing energy- and material-intensiveness of goods, starting with their design; through a comprehensive and extensive processing of raw materials; use of wasteless technologies; and use of byproducts, waste and secondary raw materials.

Robert Maxwell: What are the short-term prospects of the Bulgarian economy for increasing the level of population employment over the next few years? What sectors of the Bulgarian economy do you expect to show the largest increase with a view to exports as well?

Todor Zhivkov: The first part of your question would puzzle any Bulgarian. We resolved the problem of population employment several decades ago. We have no unemployment. Particularly in the case of the young, this is an "imported," an unknown concept. Furthermore, we are experiencing some manpower shortages in a number of economic sectors.

Over the next 5 years our machine-building output will be increased by 50-55 percent. We shall be paying particular attention to heavy investment machine building. We shall increase the export of machine systems and technological lines, complete projects, control systems, and equipment and one-of-a-kind machines and installations. We shall increase the production and export of industrial robots, manipulators, robotized technological modules and metal processing tools and equipment with digital programming. On the basis of new electronic, microprocessor and electrical engineering elements, we shall convert from the production and export of individual technical facilities with electronic elements and general-purpose computers to comprehensive electronic equipment and systems. Bulgaria will export microprocessor systems equipped with the necessary program support, quasi-electronic and electronic automated telephone exchanges, digital transfer systems and integrated office management systems.

Over the next 5 years our chemical output will be increased by about 50 percent. We shall organize the production and export of polypropylene, raw materials for polyurethane and polyurethane goods, and products of industrial microbiology. The export of low-tonnage chemicals, dyes, catalyzers, enzymes, pure and superpure substances, carbonite, ammonium nitrate, fertilizers, plant protection preparations, pharmaceuticals and cosmetic goods will be increased.

Even though we are assigning priority to the machine-building and chemical industries, the other sectors of our economy will be developed faster as well.

Robert Maxwell: In its 22 April 1971 issue, SOFIA NEWS, an English-language weekly, reported that a second nuclear electric power plant will be built in Belene, 150 km from Kozloduy, where the first nuclear electric power plant is located. What are Bulgaria's plans in the field of energy, bearing in mind that it imports two-thirds of the energy it needs from the Soviet Union, Iraq, Iran and Libya?

Todor Zhivkov: The building of nuclear electric power plants is one of the basic directions in the development of the Bulgarian power industry. We undertook implementation of our long-term program for the development of the nuclear power industry long before the outbreak of the energy crisis. The first 440-megawatt reactor was commissioned at the Kozloduy nuclear electric power plant

in 1974. Currently it has three reactors and the installation of the fourth will be completed before the end of 1981.

In 1980 the Kozloduy nuclear electric power plant accounted for about 18 percent of the country's overall electric power production. In terms of this indicator, Bulgaria is among the leading four-five countries in the world. We are currently expanding the power plant by adding two more 1,000-megawatt reactors.

The share of electric power produced by nuclear power plants will reach about 26 percent in 1985 and about 40 percent in 1990. A second nuclear electric power plant will be built near Belene to this effect.

In order to meet the growing needs of the country for energy, a comprehensive program has been drafted for the development of the power industry and the effective utilization of energy resources through 1990. It is consistent with Bulgaria's specific conditions and is based on close cooperation and integration with the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist comity. The implementation of the program will increase the share of local power resources in the Bulgarian power balance from about 30 percent in 1980 to 40-45 percent in 1990. Along with the construction of nuclear electric power plants, we shall continue to develop the country's hydraulic power potential, which will increase from 46 percent in 1980 to 53 percent in 1990. We are planning to increase the utilization of unconventional power sources such as solar and geothermal energy.

The extraction of conventional fuels will be increased mainly by increasing the extraction of coal, most of which consists of low-caloric lignites. Most of the coal will be used for the production of electric power in thermoelectric power plants on the basis of effective original systems developed by Bulgarian specialists.

The production of electric power will continue to develop at a faster pace mainly on the basis of nuclear energy and low-caloric lignites. In terms of per-capita electric power consumption, the Bulgarian People's Republic reached the average European level in 1980 and has come closer to the level of the most developed countries. Over the next 10 years electric power consumption will be increased by an average of 5.3 percent annually, compared with more than 7 percent over the past decade.

Robert Maxwell: The new Eighth Five-Year Plan (1981-1985) of the Bulgarian People's Republic calls for the expansion of light industry. Is this an amendment to the ideological priority which was given to the development of heavy industry in the past?

Todor Zhivkov: Our country's 1980 industrial output was about 35 percent higher than that of 1975. The theses of the 12th congress on the socioeconomic development in the Eighth Five-Year Plan call for a 30-35 percent increase in overall industrial output. We do not anticipate for the five-year plan a higher growth rate of the light industry (which is 25-30 percent) compared with heavy industry. At the same time, the documents of both the 11th and the 12th congresses have emphasized that we are following a course of bringing the pace of development of heavy and light industry closer together. As a result of this policy, over the last decade (1970-1980) the indicator of production of capital goods in industry was 206 compared with 228 for consumer goods.

The priority which was given to the growth of heavy compared with light industry in the appearance and consolidation of socialism was based on the technical and economic backwardness of our country. The fact that this ratio is changing in accordance with specific historical conditions and that there is an emphatic rapprochement between the rates of development of heavy and light industry in the country confirms that we are not the slaves of dogmas but are taking into consideration the real needs of socioeconomic development.

Robert Maxwell: Is the continuing emphatic increase in the production of consumer goods (undertaken in 1974) in answer to the demands of the people?

Todor Zhivkov: What does "the demands of the people" mean? We are trying to follow as well as to guide consumer demand. The main objective of our socioeconomic policy is the increasingly better satisfaction of the steadily growing material and spiritual needs of the people. This policy is the core of our ideology. The programmatic slogan of our party is "everything for the sake of man and everything for the good of man."

In the period of building socialism a material and technical base, extensive in terms of the scale of our country, was created, including a developed heavy and light industry, and modern agriculture. Both the party's social policy and the exceptionally increased economic potential of the country made the task of decisively increasing the production of consumer goods realistic and possible.

Now, with the application of the new economic approach, even more favorable conditions are being created for increasing the interest of production and trade organizations in improving their activities related to the production and supplying of the population with consumer goods. With the help of the new economic mechanism this direct interest leads to the establishment of a direct contact between the producers and the market and ensures the most accurate orientation of the production process toward goods in demand by the population.

Robert Maxwell: What is the expected net increase in the cash income of the Bulgarian population in 1982? Will retail prices of staple goods remain unchanged?

Todor Zhivkov: The steady growth of the real income is ensured through wages and other population income (pensions, scholarships, supplements for children, etc). At the same time, the funds allocated by the state and the economic organizations for improving education, health care, culture and other social measures are being increased steadily. They account for nearly one-quarter of the working people's income.

During the next 5 years real income will increase by 16-18 percent. Average annual wages will increase from 2,185 to 2,500 leva.

We have no intention of changing the retail prices of staple goods and services in the future.

Robert Maxwell: In the 7 June 1981 elections, 99.96 percent of the voters voted for the single Fatherland Front list. The 12th congress emphasized that

the National Assembly must play a greater role. How is this possible if currently the people's representatives meet only four times a year for a period of a few days?

Todor Zhivkov: During its 5-year mandate the former Seventh National Assembly held 16 sessions. At each one of them, 10 to 15 people's representatives spoke. This naturally raises the question of how the National Assembly is coping with its responsible tasks of drafting and adopting laws, controlling, and so on. The actual situation is different. The National Assembly is engaged in important activities between sessions as well. It has permanent commissions which involve the participation of all people's representatives. For example, during the now elapsed mandate of the Seventh National Assembly, separately and jointly with other permanent commissions the legislative commission discussed a total of 56 draft bills and held 60 sessions, or an average of 12 sessions annually. A similar situation prevails in the case of the other five permanent commissions.

The permanent commissions, which are the auxiliary organs of the National Assembly, exercise parliamentary control on its behalf between sessions. During the mandate of the Seventh National Assembly, the commissions heard 98 ministers and heads of other departments and representatives of okrug people's councils on a variety of problems.

At the beginning of every year, the permanent commissions set up work groups of people's representatives to provide specific aid in the preliminary preparations for the draft plan for the socioeconomic development of the country and the state budget. In the course of the discussion of the draft plan for 1981 and 1982 and the 1981 state budget, the permanent commissions and the people's representatives submitted [illegible] suggestions to the Commission on Socioeconomic Development, 74 of which were adopted by the National Assembly.

The individual work of the people's representatives with the voters is a great contribution to upgrading the role of the National Assembly. They must meet with the voters to whom they report their activities no less than once every year. The overwhelming majority of people's representatives set a very good example in this respect.

The activities of the Eighth National Assembly, which was elected on 7 June 1981, will be even greater.

Of the 400 people's representatives who were elected, 83 are workers; 295 are specialists with a higher education degree, or 74 percent; 33 deputies are under 30 years of age. Compared with the Seventh National Assembly, the number of women who are representatives rose by 9 percent and that of specialists with a university degree by 9.25 percent; 156 people's representatives were elected for their first term.

With such a structure, the statement included in the accountability report to the 12th congress on the need to upgrade the role of the National Assembly will be met. The controlling functions of the National Assembly in terms of the government as a whole and the individual ministries will be intensified even further. The practice of ministers to report to permanent commissions, to discuss more important projects with them, and so on, will be expanded.

In the Bulgarian People's Republic the power comes from the people and belongs to the people. All the activities of our parliament are aimed at ensuring the programs of the country and the well-being of the people.

Robert Maxwell: Should the Bulgarian trade unions pay more attention to the needs of the workers rather than being mainly a transmission belt for the policy of the government and the party?

Todor Zhivkov: Your question indicates that you lack an accurate understanding of the activities of the trade unions in socialist Bulgaria. We do not limit the concern of the trade unions to meeting the needs of the workers rather than engaging in comprehensive activities for the implementation of the policy of the party and the government. In other words, we do not separate the economic from the social functions of the trade unions.

By accepting the leading role of the party and mobilizing the working people for the implementation of the tasks earmarked by the party, the trade unions are concerned with satisfying the requirements and needs of the working class and all citizens. The party has always tried to develop the autonomy and initiative of the trade unions, so that they can carry out both functions: to organize the working people for the purpose of upgrading social labor productivity and production effectiveness and, on this basis, to be concerned with the increasingly fuller satisfaction of their needs. The correctness of this line of unity and interaction between economic and social trade union activities was confirmed in the course of 37 years of practical experience in socialist Bulgaria. Here are a few eloquent figures.

During the past 25 years Bulgaria's productive capital was increased by a factor of 8, while the volume of industrial output increased by a factor of 11. Today it takes only 3 days for our industry to produce as much as it did during the entire year 1939. This output is based on higher social labor productivity, which has increased by a factor of 7. Our national income has increased by a factor of 6.5; the average annual growth of the national income is 8.1 percent--an indicator which places socialist Bulgaria in one of the leading positions in Europe and throughout the world.

During the same 25-year period per-capita consumption more than quadrupled while real income increased by a factor of 4.3. Social consumption funds rose by a factor of 16, from 34 leva per capita in 1952 to 619 leva per capita in 1980.

This progress, which is tremendous given our circumstances, could not have been achieved without the unity and interaction among the party, the state, the trade unions and the people.

Robert Maxwell: In a recent report (December 1980), Amnesty International mentioned the poor attitude maintained toward members of the Moslem minority in Bulgaria, which has objected to cultural discrimination such as, for example, the closing down of schools offering training in the Turkish language. What is the current policy toward the Moslem minority? The Pentecostals are another religious minority which, according to some, has been in trouble with the authorities.

Todor Zhivkov: The socialist revolution formulated the question of religious faiths on a radically different basis. According to our current constitution the church is separated from the state. Religion has become a private matter for the citizens. No right privileges or restrictions are allowed on the basis of nationality, origin, religion, sex, race, etc. According to article 52 of the Constitution of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the citizens have the right to set up religious organizations. Article 53 stipulates that they are guaranteed freedom of conscience and religious faith, including that of conducting religious ceremonies. According to the constitution, no citizen can be persecuted or restricted in his civic and political rights or be released from the obligations imposed upon him by the laws of the country for belonging to one or another religious faith or for not belonging to any.

Several protestant Pentecostal ministers were tried in Sofia in 1979 and a hullabaloo was raised in some Western countries alleging that religion is persecuted in Bulgaria. Actually, the ministers were tried for a variety of currency and customs crimes and violations of the laws. The trial was open, and anyone who was interested was able to see the guilt of the defendants. The Pentecostal leadership itself condemned such actions as incompatible with their ministerial status.

Religious Moslems in our country (Bulgarian Turks and a small number of Bulgarian Mohammedans) are the second largest faith in our country. They are entirely equal with all other citizens in the republic and are free to profess their faith. The country has more than 1,300 mosques, 8 regional muftiships and 1 head muftiship and 570 rayon imams. Every year the state allocates the necessary subsidies to the chief muftiship, thus adding to its budget for the support of the clergy. Furthermore, the state engages in the preservation and restoration of old monuments remaining from Turkish times (mosques, burial sites and others) of architectural and historical significance. According to Koranic law this faith continues to own and manage its own property, the income from which goes to religious purposes.

Houses of prayer--the mosques--are always open and freely attended by believers. Furthermore, the newspaper YENI USHUK is published in Bulgaria in the Bulgarian and Turkish languages in 20,000 copies; the periodical YENI KHAYAT, which is also published in the Bulgarian and Turkish languages, comes out in editions of 10,000 copies. The Bulgarian radio broadcasts 4 hours daily in the Turkish language. Art ensembles perform special "Turkish programs," dances, etc, and operate as part of the state theaters in Shumen, Kurdzhali and Razgrad. The works of Turkish classics and modern Turkish authors are published in our country in Bulgarian and Turkish.

The education of the children of Bulgarian Turks is guaranteed by the constitution and is based on the Law on Public Education in accordance with national curricula and programs on the basis of which all children from the ages of 7 to 16, who are subject to mandatory education, are trained. Eighth-grade graduates have the right to continue their education in all types of general educational, specialized or vocational-technical secondary schools and, subsequently, in higher educational institutions. This presents them with equal training opportunities and development as specialists like all young people.

That is why, it was in answer to the demand of the parents--Bulgarian Turks--themselves that the optional study of the Turkish language from the first through the ninth grades was adopted as of the 1972-1973 school year. Special Turkish-language and literature textbooks have been published for this purpose. Like all children in our country, the children of Bulgarian Turks receive free textbooks and aids and go to semiboarding schools, study halls, boarding schools and hostels. As to the Bulgarian Moslems, whose number is very small and who inhabit the Rodopi area mainly, the believers among them have the same equal and free opportunity to profess Islam. They have their own clergy and mosques. This population is of purely Bulgarian ethnic origin. Under the Turkish yoke, however, it was converted to Islam by force. Today this segment of the population has expressed its entirely free desire to regain its Bulgarian names. This does not affect in the least the status of the believers.

I hope that this answer will be satisfactory. As to the data cited by the organization you mentioned, I have no idea of their origin.

Robert Maxwell: Let me go on to the next question. Why has emigration to Turkey been clearly terminated?

Todor Zhivkov: I think that you mean the resettlement of Bulgarian Turks to Turkey.

The gathering of split families and other humanitarian reasons resulted in the signing of the 1968 Bulgarian-Turkish agreement on partial emigration. As a result of its application, in 10 years a considerable number of Bulgarian Turks left for Turkey to rejoin their families. A certain portion--more than 10,000 people--who, in accordance with the agreement, had the right to emigrate, preferred to remain in the Bulgarian People's Republic. As stipulated in the treaty, its effect was terminated in 1978, for it had served its purpose.

Therefore, it is inaccurate, to say the least, to speak of "terminated" emigration.

Robert Maxwell: Are there differences between Bulgarian and Soviet foreign policy?

Todor Zhivkov: The question is not new or surprising. It conceals a small trap. If I were to answer simply with a "no," it might be interpreted that the claims that Bulgaria is a "satellite" of the USSR, widespread in the West, are accurate. If I were to say "yes," I would be adding grist to the mill of those who are doing everything possible to discover some cracks and contradictions in the relations between Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. The truth regarding the foreign policy of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR is the following: side by side with the other members of the socialist comity, they are pursuing a coordinated foreign policy course. They look and react to events through the lens of the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, which we consider as the only accurate one.

The Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR have the same socioeconomic system. They are guided by common principles on all matters of domestic and foreign policy and share the same interests. Both are members of CEMA. Both are members of the Warsaw Pact. Adding to this the historical traditional ties of

friendship and brotherhood between the peoples of Bulgaria and the Soviet Union, the reason for which there are no differences in the foreign policy pursued by either country will become clear.

Naturally, there neither exists nor could exist absolute similarity between the relations which Bulgaria and the Soviet Union have with other countries. In this case various factors are operational: the size of the country, geographic proximity, traditions, and so on. In that sense, Bulgaria pursues an active and constructive Balkan policy which is entirely consistent with the peaceful course pursued by the fraternal socialist countries and is concretized in our geographic area.

I wish to emphasize, however, that the objective of Bulgarian and Soviet foreign policy is the same: ensuring the most favorable international conditions for the building of socialism and communism; the basic principles on which such conditions are structured are identical: peace, security, good neighborly relations and cooperation.

At the 12th congress we stated that we accept the peace program of the CPSU as our own and that we shall do everything we can for its implementation. This is because the Soviet proposals on strengthening detente, terminating the arms race, taking specific steps for disarmament and development of international cooperation and for freedom, independence and social progress are consistent not only with the interests of the USSR, Bulgaria and the other members of the socialist comity but the interests of all nations in the world.

Let me especially emphasize that circles whose policy toward the USSR is hostile cannot rely on Bulgarian friendship.

Robert Maxwell: Your statements regarding a greater "organic unity" with the Soviet Union in the future has led some observers to speculate on whether some form of closer political integration between Bulgaria and Soviet Union was being planned. Is this the truth?

Todor Zhivkov: I have been asked the same question in various ways and at different times by correspondents from the United States, Greece, Iran, Great Britain and other countries. The conditions governing the process of all-round cooperation and rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR took decades to mature. This course is based on the firm roots of age-old spiritual and social ties between the two fraternal Slavic peoples--the Bulgarian and the Russian. The Bulgarian people are profoundly grateful to the Russian and Soviet peoples for their decisive help in the liberation of Bulgaria from Turkish slavery in 1878 and from fascism in 1944. Factors such as the long revolutionary traditions of the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples in the common struggle for a new and just life, the common objective laws of social development under socialism and in the period of transition to communism, the common Marxist-Leninist understanding of the nature and prospects of the development of the new, socialist type of intergovernmental relations, the community of interests and objectives and, more specifically, the need to steadily upgrade the living and cultural standards of our working people, the ideological and political affiliation of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR with the Warsaw Pact and CEMA countries and their joint struggle for peace, security and cooperation among nations and for social progress play a fundamental role in shaping the process of Bulgarian-Soviet rapprochement.

You are interested in whether "some form of closer political integration" is being planned? The answer depends on the content which you invest in this concept.

If it is a question of the final objective, it stems directly from the concept of the definitive building of a classless, entirely homogeneous society in both the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR. In that sense we can speak of reciprocal and objective aspirations toward the intensification and consolidation of the political unity and the unity of action between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR.

If by this concept you mean something like institutional changes, i.e., a "unification," "merger" or reciprocal substitution or replacement of the state organs of one of the countries with the state organs of the other, this is not only not forthcoming and not only is it not "in planning" but is frankly absurd. The integration processes which are taking place in the comprehensive Bulgarian-Soviet relations are developing on the basis of the full preservation of the state sovereignty of the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Soviet Union. Furthermore, in our view, the rapprochement is a high manifestation of the sovereign will of the Bulgarian and Soviet peoples and a guarantee of the total success of this joint course and the steady strengthening of the fraternal friendship which has linked them forever.

Our view and assessment are eloquently confirmed by the fact that rapprochement between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the USSR not only does not hinder but, I would say, actively contributes to the broadening of ties and relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the other countries in the world.

Robert Maxwell: It is being said that particularly warm relations exist between the Bulgarian and the Romanian peoples and between you and Mr Ceausescu. Is this true, and if so, how do you explain it?

Todor Zhivkov: You will agree that this is perfectly normal. The reason is not geographic proximity alone. Nor does it lie only in the age-old traditions of cooperation in the struggle for national and social liberation, waged by the best sons of the two nations, which have always met with the understanding of the other side across the Danube and have given one another reciprocal support.

Periods of coldness and even hostility existed in the past between bourgeois Bulgaria and bourgeois Romania. However, a radically new situation was created 37 years ago. Socialist revolutions were made in both countries and the building and strengthening of a new social system was undertaken. A treaty for friendship, cooperation and mutual aid was concluded between Bulgaria and Romania in 1948. This is a programmatic document governing the development of relations between our two countries on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. The treaty was renewed in 1970.

This is the political base of today's dynamic cooperation between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania.

It would please me to know that Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu have contributed to such a development in our relations with our frank discussion of problems of reciprocal interest and the constructive spirit of the meetings between us, which are traditionally quite frequent.

Robert Maxwell: Are the socialist states currently able to pursue a policy consistent with the Marxist theory that nationalistic conflicts between them are impossible?

Todor Zhivkov: Yes, they are and this is their policy. It is a question of countries which are indeed guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

However, the building of socialism is a difficult and lengthy process. The combination of the general principles of Marxism-Leninism with national characteristics requires a great deal of maturity and experience on the part of the individual parties and their leaders. The lack of such maturity and experience may lead to the neglect of national characteristics. Conversely, the appearance, development and growth of nationalistic trends and actions on the part of a given party or country at a certain time and under certain circumstances are also possible. We must also bear in mind that socialism is being built in countries of different size, tradition and economic standard. Each one of them faces the specific problems of combining national with international factors. However, as long as they remain loyal to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and remain countries of real socialism, differences between them cannot assume an antagonistic nature. In other words, nationalistic conflicts are impossible.

I believe that you are interested not only in the theoretical formulation but the actually existing situation. The West is speculating a great deal about problems raised in recent years by the "theory," policy and practices of the Chinese leadership.

Efforts are being made to present the origin and nature of the Chinese problem mainly as the product of unresolved national contradictions, including territorial disputes mainly between China and the Soviet Union. The truth is entirely different. In our view, a different ideology, hostile to Marxism-Leninism, rules in China. It is steadily misshaping and distorting the results of the socialist reorganization of that country, including its foreign policy course. Militant nationalism is the basis of Maoism. Consequently, in this case a different basis for comparison is used: it is no longer a question of parties and countries guided by the same ideology or pursuing an identical policy.

Consider China's military aggression against Vietnam. Does it truly constitute a proof that armed conflicts are possible between two socialist states, as some bourgeois and revisionist theoreticians are trying to present matters? No, this "war" was neither needed nor desired by the Vietnamese or the Chinese peoples. The culprit in the war was not socialism or its ideological foundation--Marxism-Leninism--but Maoism and the Maoists, who are guided in international relations by great-power hegemonism and who are betting on confrontation, expansion and armed aggression.

Robert Maxwell: You are acknowledged as the most noted statesman in the Balkans. What suggestions and initiatives do you have in mind so that the Balkan Peninsula can remain as peaceful in the future as it has been in recent years?

Todor Zhivkov: The Bulgarian People's Republic is located in the center of the Balkan Peninsula and has common land borders with four countries, some

of which have a different social system. With some of them its relations are developing on the basis of socialist internationalism, to use our expression. With the others, we are guided by the familiar principle of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems.

The main, the determining feature of Bulgaria's Balkan policy is its wish for the Balkans to remain an area of durable peace and security and the Balkan peoples, who have experienced many difficult times in the past, to live in an atmosphere of trust, understanding, friendship, good neighborly relations and mutually profitable cooperation.

The new initiatives formulated at the 12th BCP Congress are the latest expression of our peace-loving constructive foreign policy.

Which are they?

We believe that efforts must be made to ensure the steady improvement of the climate of trust in the area; we are proclaiming our readiness to follow the path drafted in Helsinki so that the Balkans may become a stable area of detente; we are ready to conclude bilateral agreements with our neighbors which would include a code of good neighborly relations, the rejection of territorial claims, the prevention of the use of the territory of the party to the agreement for hostile purposes and actions against the other country; we favor the further expansion of bilateral cooperation in economics, tourism, science, culture, education and sports, so that our peoples may get to know and be friendly with one another; we are also ready to extend our cooperation with the other Balkan countries on a multilateral basis on matters of reciprocal interest.

The implementation of the important initiative which we discussed with Comrade Leonid Brezhnev in the course of this year's Crimea meeting--the declaration of the Balkans as a nuclear-free zone, would be a particular contribution to strengthening the peace and security of the Balkans and in Europe and the conversion of our peninsula into a stable area of detente.

We are firmly convinced that, considering the worsened international situation, the only proper way consistent with the vital interests of all mankind is that of good intentions and constructive dialogue, cooperation, understanding and mutual trust. It is in this spirit that we are building our international relations with Greece, Turkey and Yugoslavia.

Robert Maxwell: During your last state visit to Greece you expressed a hope for better relations with Greece, particularly in trade. Based on previous experience, could you tell us what positive results have been achieved and what probable development there will be in Greek-Bulgarian relations in the immediate future, particularly after your visit?

Todor Zhivkov: Let me specify that it is a question not of a "hope of better relations with Greece" but of a confidence in the further ascending development of Bulgarian-Greek relations in all areas, including that of economics. We have sufficient grounds for this, which were strengthened even further during the meetings we recently held in Greece with President Constantine Karamanlis. Bulgarian-Greek contacts on the highest level have become a good tradition and an excellent example of constructive dialogue for the implementation of new, useful initiatives within the framework of our cooperation.

I am therefore satisfied with my last visit to Greece, with our past achievements and with the opportunities which exist for the future. In 1980 Bulgarian-Greek trade totaled about \$440 million. I hope that you will agree that for two small countries such as ours this is a truly impressive figure. Furthermore, along with the development of trade, we are trying to introduce new, more progressive forms of economic cooperation through long-term cooperation agreements, agreements for the supply of complete projects, the building of mixed enterprises, and others.

Some of our new suggestions which call for broadening economic cooperation between the two countries in the machine-building, chemical, energy, light and food industries, transportation, and others, are in the same spirit. Talks were already held in Sofia last June on such matters between the respective ministers of the two countries, and a joint document was signed.

The future will show the concrete results of this. In any case, a good foundation has been laid.

Robert Maxwell: Bearing in mind the overall good relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and Greece and Turkey, your noncommunist neighbors in the Balkans, and your many bilateral cooperation agreements with them, why does your country oppose multilateral regional cooperation?

Todor Zhivkov: Please study the communiques of my meetings with some statesmen from our neighbor countries, where you can clearly read that Bulgaria has never been nor is now opposed to cooperation among Balkan countries on a multilateral basis.

I can back this up by enumerating a number of forms of cooperation among Balkan countries in which our state is actively participating. It was precisely the Bulgarian People's Republic that initiated the implementation of some of them.

For example, in the initiative of the Bulgarian Ministry of Transport, a meeting of experts from the Balkan countries was held in Sofia last June. I know that the talks took place in the spirit of reciprocal understanding and with good results. A number of specific problems of the development of cooperation among Balkan countries were discussed, involving the use of new transportation technologies and combined transportation systems; steps were taken to facilitate international transportation, etc. A representative of the Committee on Internal Transportation of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe attended the meeting as an observer.

The very nature of areas such as transportation, communications, long distance communications, raw material resources, energy and environmental protection is such that problems can be resolved more successfully and completely if discussed at general Balkan meetings with the participation of international organizations and countries close to the Balkan. This is the case with telecommunications, for such lines go throughout Europe and to the Middle East. There also are non-Balkan countries which must cross the Balkans in the course of their daily economic activities. As we know, the Balkans are part of Europe, and any effort to consider them as some kind of exclusive region or any attempt to convert them into a closed group have no firm foundations.

This has another aspect as well. Because of their relatively limited economic potential, some Balkan countries are naturally encouraging bilateral or multilateral integration with powerful economic groups outside the Balkans, such as CEMA and the EEC. Each country chooses its own direction. That is precisely why we must not exaggerate the possibility of Balkan-wide cooperation. In my view, such cooperation must be considered a supplement and extension of bilateral cooperation in areas in which the solution of problems exceeds the framework of bilateral agreements.

It seems to me that considering the variegated political nature of our area, a great deal of understanding has been achieved. Together with the broadening of bilateral relations for the sake of peace and good neighborly relations, our country will continue to develop its cooperation with the Balkan countries on a multilateral basis as well in areas for which conditions and reciprocal interests exist.

Robert Maxwell: Relations with Yugoslavia have been relatively good after President Tito's death. What was the reason for the appearance of the current new "round" of polemics on Macedonia?

Todor Zhivkov: Both before and after the death of President Tito relations between our countries have been developing relatively well, particularly in the field of economics. Progress has been made in science, culture, sports, etc.

In our view, however, such achievements remain below the objective needs and real opportunities of the two countries. We have repeatedly stated, and our readiness was confirmed at the 12th congress, that Bulgaria favors the further expansion of bilateral cooperation with Yugoslavia. We are convinced that this will yield even greater results for both countries, will contribute to the better acquaintanceship between our people and will become an important factor in strengthening peace, security and understanding in the Balkans, in Europe and throughout the world.

In our view, it is wrong to draw a line between the development of relations between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia before and after President Tito's death.

Your question regarding the current "new round" of polemics on Macedonia is not entirely accurate as well. Obviously, you refer to the increased frequency of articles published in the Yugoslav press since last February, for the Bulgarian mass information media have not printed materials on the so-called controversial problems so that actually there is no polemic.

The position we hold on such matters is clear: the Bulgarian People's Republic believes that they can be resolved successfully only in a spirit of reciprocal respect and consideration, through calm, positive and constructive dialogue.

The Bulgarian People's Republic has repeatedly suggested that controversial problems, including the so-called Macedonian problem, become the subject of joint scientific study and clarification so that mutually acceptable solutions may be reached. Objective scientific studies and analyses are needed. It is more than clear that one-sided emotional polemic in the press does not contribute to positive solutions.

The Bulgarian People's Republic is guided in its policy toward Yugoslavia by its desire for all-round development of political, economic and cultural relations between the peoples of our two neighboring socialist countries, in the interest of peace, good neighborly relations and social progress in the Balkans.

Robert Maxwell: If Bulgaria has no "territorial claims" toward Yugoslavia, as is frequently claimed, and if it is satisfied with the solutions reached after World War II, would it not be logical to put an end to all polemics on the so-called Macedonian question?

Todor Zhivkov: Yes, we have frequently stated that Bulgaria has no territorial claims toward any one of its neighbors, including Yugoslavia. The recognition of political realities and state borders created after World War II is dictated by the objective laws of contemporary international relations, as expressed in the United Nations charter and the final act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The question is reduced not to whether or not Bulgaria is "satisfied with the solutions reached after World War II" or not, but to the voluntary and effective implementation of its obligations as a participant in the Helsinki Conference.

In 1978 the Bulgarian People's Republic officially suggested to Yugoslavia that several documents be signed, which included a procedure for the discussion and resolution of disputes and a solemn declaration of the inviolability of orders and reciprocal abandonment of territorial claims. Our proposals were dictated by the desire to put an end to speculations involving imaginary territorial claims on the part of Bulgaria toward Yugoslavia and the strengthening of reciprocal trust.

As to the second part of your question: the Bulgarian People's Republic has proved that it is against any kind of polemics waged through the mass information media. We do not engage in such polemics. I already pointed out that controversial problems in Bulgarian-Yugoslav relations must be discussed only through scientific means. The Bulgarian People's Republic has never abandoned this principle-minded and constructive approach.

Robert Maxwell: What is your opinion on the foreign political views of President Reagan, who does not support the implementation of SALT II and for the time being refuses to engage in constructive talks on detente or on the deployment of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe?

Todor Zhivkov: The foreign policy of the biggest capitalist country in the world affects all countries on all continents. The foreign political course pursued so far by President Ronald Reagan's administration is not contributing to the consolidation of the peace, detente and cooperation among nations.

Bulgaria is a small country, and it is not a matter of indifference to us whether or not in the years to come we shall have to set aside more funds for defense in a new round of the arms race or else use such funds for peaceful construction and for improving the life of the people. It is not a matter of indifference in the least to use also whether or not the new American Cruise and Pershing II nuclear missiles will be deployed in Western Europe, the more so since Bulgaria too will be within their range. We have a similar attitude toward the decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, which, according to strategic plans, could also be deployed on our continent.

The question is not that Bulgaria and the other socialist countries have no such weapons or the possibility of manufacturing them. The question is different: the stockpiling of ever new, more dangerous and more expensive weapons does not make peace more secure. Conversely, the expanding pile of armaments in itself is turning into a monstrous threat to mankind.

Let me give you a specific example. All of us know that today as well, weapons sufficient to destroy mankind several times over have already been stockpiled. Now, however, whether accidentally or as a result of a technical error, if the United States or the USSR were to fire an intercontinental missile, it would take about half an hour for the missile to reach its target. Within that time defensive system could be activated. The time is sufficient for the use of the "hot line" and to determine the fact that a technical error has been made. Therefore, at present the possibility of preventing a universal catastrophe still exists.

As we know, the United States and the Soviet Union have signed an agreement on the prevention of an accidental outbreak of nuclear war.

However, if the new American nuclear missiles were to be deployed in Western Europe, the situation would change greatly. A missile such as the Pershing II would take no more than 5 to 10 minutes to reach its target. Military specialists unanimously believe that at present there are no technical means with which defense systems can be activated to a state of readiness within such a short time. Should such a missile be launched, the other country would have to react immediately without having the time to determine whether this was an accidental error or a deliberate massed attack. The dividing line between war and peace becomes exceptionally fine. That is what we are talking about!

For all these reasons we believe that the foreign policy course of President Reagan's administration is showing no concern for the preservation of peace, contributing to the strengthening of security or helping to develop cooperation. This is no farsighted policy.

Together with the other members of the socialist comity, Bulgaria is pursuing a consistent policy whose objective is not the increase of armaments but their limitation and the preservations of identical security of the countries. We announced our opposition to the plans for the deployment of new American nuclear weapons in Western Europe and suggested talks on this matter. To the best of my knowledge, in Great Britain as well many individuals and political parties, the labor party for example, support such a sensible approach.

Allow me to add something else. I know the Soviet Union and its leaders well. I know Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev well also. I can assure you that the Soviet Union, which suffered more than any other country in the last war, is in favor of peace and detente and is doing everything for their preservation.

Leonid Brezhnev is a wise statesman who will be remembered in history as one of the greatest builders of peace and detente in our time.

The Soviet Union sincerely strives toward peace and disarmament. This must be well understood by everyone. Naturally, it is a question of a just and democratic peace. It is equally clear that the land of the soviets will not permit itself to be dictated conditions or to be addressed "from a position of strength."

Robert Maxwell: What can you tell us about the current state of relations between the Bulgarian People's Republic and the United States? In your opinion, could either one do something to improve such relations, particularly in the areas of trade and culture?

Todor Zhivkov: The Bulgarian People's Republic is developing its relations with the United States on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, equality and mutual benefits. As a most general characterization, I would say that Bulgarian-American relations are developing normally. In our view, however, they do not correspond to existing possibilities. A certain progress has been made in recent years in the development of trade-economic, scientific and technical and cultural cooperation. Trade between the two countries is increasing and the number of cultural manifestations--Bulgarian in the United States and American in Bulgaria--is increasing as well. There has been a certain revitalization in political relations as well.

We know that substantial differences exist between us on all basic international problems and on the reasons for the existing worsened international situation. Nevertheless, we favor the further development of relations between the two countries on the basis of respect and consideration of the positions they hold. The natural development of relations is a bilateral process which requires reciprocal willingness and effort. We hope that the desire announced by President Reagan's administration to continue the development of relations with Bulgaria will be followed by specific steps. The abandonment of a policy of discrimination toward our country and the conclusion of a trade agreement would be a major contribution on the part of the United States, which would play an important role in the expansion of trade-economic and overall cooperation. Naturally, as we have already stated, this must take place without preliminary conditions, on an equal footing.

The feelings of our people for the American people and their democratic traditions and contribution to world civilization are ones of respect and friendship.

Robert Maxwell: Currently Bulgaria is playing a useful role in maintaining good relations with the nonaligned and the developing countries. Are there data on the annual amount of aid given and on the technical support provided to such countries?

Todor Zhivkov: I cannot fail but be pleased by the thought included in your question to the effect that Bulgaria plays a useful role in maintaining good relations with nonaligned and developing countries. Such a statement, coming from both partial and impartial observers, relieves us from the delicate position of assessing our own contribution or boasting....

I have said on other occasions as well that we, Bulgarians, have always felt sincere sympathy for the developing countries. We are continuing to give them selfless moral-political, diplomatic and, to the extent of our possibilities, material support. We are promoting intensive and ever broader contacts with virtually all developing countries. The size of the material aid given to the developing countries by a country such as Bulgaria is substantial. The Bulgarian People's Republic is sharing its experience and providing economic and scientific and technical assistance in the building of industrial and other projects and in organizing agroindustrial complexes. All this is taking place on an equal and mutually profitable basis, with strict respect for the

sovereignty and independence of our partners. We are thus helping these countries to develop their economies and are assisting their peoples in their struggle for surmounting backwardness and upgrading their living standards. Let me illustrate this by pointing out that so far our country has granted developing countries loans totaling about 600 million foreign currency leva. These funds were granted above all for the building of industrial, agricultural and infrastructural projects. The low interest rates and favorable repayment conditions are a manifestation of the desire of our state to help the developing countries to resolve their problems.

Scientific and technical cooperation is developing successfully. It covers areas such as mining and geological studies, designing and other engineering services and construction. Thousands of Bulgarian specialists--engineers, physicians, geologists, economists and others--are working in the developing countries. At the same time, young men and women from these countries are attending our higher educational institutions. Like their compatriots, within the framework of postgraduate training, together with Bulgarian specialists, they are participating in joint scientific studies and development, adding to their knowledge and training in our secondary and higher educational institutions so that they may apply them later in their homelands successfully.

Robert Maxwell: Mr President, allow me to express my profound thanks for the time you spared to answer my questions and for this interesting, frank and exhaustive talk. I wish you good health and strength so that you may work just as tireless for the blossoming of the Bulgarian People's Republic, the success of peace and detente throughout the world and for understanding and cooperation among nations! I thank you very much. (BTA)

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'TRIBUNA' EDITOR-IN-CHIEF ON POLISH CRISIS

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech Nos 6, 7, 8 of 10, 17, 24 Feb 82

[Article by Karel Horak: "The Aim Was Counterrevolution"]

[No 6, 10 Feb 82 pp 1, 3]

[Text] The declaration of martial law in the Polish People's Republic [PLR] which frustrated the plans of anticommunist centers to liquidate socialism in this fraternal country, led to the unleashing of a furious anti-Polish and antisocialist campaign throughout the capitalist world. Representatives of the most reactionary imperialist circles and the news media in their service, reformists, as well as revisionists, competed in attacks on the lawful Polish organs which, in accordance with the constitution, took decisive steps to halt the raging counterrevolution, prevent the spreading of chaos and anarchy, and restore production, thus creating the prerequisites to overcome the political and economic crisis and return the PLR to the road of socialist construction.

Just as following the defeat of the counterrevolution in Hungary in 1956, and in Czechoslovakia in 1968-69, bourgeois propaganda has in recent weeks been spouting a flood of lies and slander not only with respect to developments in Poland after 13 December 1981, but against the Soviet Union, our own country, and real socialism. As always when plans of the anticommunist centers for the destruction of the socialist community are frustrated, newspapers, magazines, radio and television programs endlessly parrot old, wornout cliches on the trampling of democracy, violations of human rights, and the incompatibility of democracy and real socialism, and on the forcible disruption of a hopeful development which was to lead to the creation of a social order reflecting the character and tradition of -- Poland, this time. And this is not enough! Top leaders of many capitalist states, led by President Reagan, proclaim economic sanctions, ultimatums, demands, and threats against the PLR and the Soviet Union.

The fury, spite, and hatred which imperialism holds against socialism and its ideas burst out again in full force. For its representatives expected to harvest the fruits of aiding the antisocialist forces. They were already

opening their arms to catch the "Polish apple" which was to fall into their laps. It was for this reason they had exerted such efforts to present the decision of the PLR state council to declare martial law and ensuing measures as illegal, antidemocratic, and to slander real socialism as much as possible, thus at least partially balancing the defeat of their plans.

All those who follow the current anti-Polish hysteria in the capitalist countries, must ask who it is the imperialists defend so fervently in Poland. Why and over whom are they shedding their tears? What is it that has literally reduced them to rage?

It is generally known that despite the defeats it has suffered in its strategic program of liquidating socialism, imperialism has never abandoned its basic objective of destroying the unity of the countries of the socialist community, wresting them away from the Soviet Union, and returning them all, or at least one of them, into its realm. Toward this end, imperialism has used various forms, ranging from direct counterrevolutionary action to the tactics of creeping counterrevolution.

When in 1969 the counterrevolutionary forces were definitely defeated and imperialism was preparing new plans against socialism, it became -- not for the first time -- the turn of Poland. As early as in the November 1974 issue of FORTUNE magazine (addressed to businessmen), one of the foremost American anticommunists, Herman Kahn, wrote an article in which he called the events in Czechoslovakia during the crisis years a "decisive experiment." The article demonstrates that even in the late 1960s the anticommunist centers were planning to expand the "erosion of communism" to Poland as well. Their strategists assumed that in the PLR the government would be replaced either by an independent, nationalist -- thus anti-Soviet -- but still communist group (the so-called revisionists), or else by a reformist regime which would also be independent, nationalist and anti-Soviet.

Class Enemy Exploits Party Mistakes

In the late 1970s and the dawning 1980s, the imperialist planners of counter-revolution saw an ideal opportunity for the implementation of their plan to liquidate socialism in Poland. The early mistakes of the PZPR were accumulating and creating deepening social tensions causing dissatisfaction in the ranks of the working class and other working people. This was fully exploited by both the domestic and foreign enemies of socialism.

The fact that agriculture had not been socialized brought about not only crisis situations stemming from shortages of basic foodstuffs but also led to the constant reproduction of petty bourgeois and often even kulak elements, along with their ideology and morality. Thus, metaphorically speaking, the socialist economy in Poland stood on only "one leg." The ranks of the rural petty bourgeoisie to a great extent also produced a new generation of the working class whose numbers increased constantly due to the rapid development in industry. A considerable portion of this working class (especially in certain regions), was a working class of the so-called first generation. While they were workers and spent varying lengths of time in industry, their views,

attitudes, morality, and family ties, remained rooted in an environment from which they came, namely, the petty bourgeois countryside. In their consciousness there survived petty bourgeois tendencies toward vacillation, anarchism, nationalism, etc.

This unfavorable composition of the working class was exacerbated by the ideological influence of the church. While the party leadership allowed itself to be lulled by certain achievements and underestimated the importance of sustained ideological work within the party and among the working people, the church was strengthening its ideological and political positions. It became a political force with a large, well-organized and functioning apparatus. Quite legally, it introduced hostile opinions into the consciousness of the working class and other working people and undermined their confidence in socialism. Moreover, it skillfully manipulated not only the consciousness but the attitudes of many workers, members of the intelligentsia and peasants on various issues or party and state policies. Behind the so-called patriotic stance of the church hierarchy, there lurked carefully thought-out and precisely disseminated anticommunism, the aim of which was to exploit appropriate opportunities for the restoration of a pluralist world outlook and the church's old privileges.

The creation of propitious opportunities for manipulating the broad masses toward a crisis situation was considerably aided and abetted by the flirting of the then PZPR leadership with liberalism, underestimation of the class enemy and insufficient revolutionary vigilance and foresight in the face of antisocialist machinations. The years-old, virtually legalized, activity of the anticommunist center, the so-called Committee for Social and Political Self-Defense (KOR) and other antisocialist organizations, tolerance of the so-called "flying university" with its spreading of hostile ideology and preparation of cadres to lead the attack against socialism at the right moment, tolerance of a state of affairs in which KOR and its activists massively published books and periodicals of an inciting and antisocialist content and distributed them among the working people, all this enabled the antisocialist opposition to organize ideologically and politically, and purposefully carry out its work, especially among workers, the intelligentsia and university students.

There were, naturally, other factors which played a negative role. Among others, these were serious errors in the party and state economic policy, discrepancy between words and deeds, theory and practice, underestimation of party ideological work and internationalist education in society, violations of Leninist norms in party work and insufficient care for strengthening the ideological and organizational unity of the party emanating from Marxism-Leninism, including the inadequate struggle against growing revisionist and opportunist tendencies in the party and insufficient attention to work with the young and to the resolution of their justified needs.

All this, along with other factors, constitutes a broad complex of internal causes and conditions which in the summer of 1980 led to a crisis situation in the PLR. To these must be added the carefully thought-out and long-term operations of the imperialist forces and their various special services and centers, as well as the extensive activity of domestic antisocialist forces.

These and many other facts prove the mendacity of bourgeois propaganda, supported by the revisionists, in its assertion that the crisis in the PLR is a crisis of real socialism and its theoretical foundation -- Marxism-Leninism. It was not socialist but errors in its construction stemming from the underestimation of the universal verities of socialist construction and Marxist-Leninist theory, gross violations of Leninist principles of development and party work, the party's separation from the masses, it was these errors which enabled the antisocialist failure to resolve certain social and economic problems, and to incite a political crisis, its constant intensification and its gradual transformation into a frontal attack against socialism.

Long-Term Preparation of the Assault on Socialism

The principal moving force which carefully planned and prepared the assault on socialism was provided by the anticommunist centers of imperialism. The domestic antisocialist forces operated under their direction and were financed with their money. This is attested to, for example, by the magazine KULTURA (published in Paris by Polish emigrants and funded by imperialist intelligence services). In addition to many other methods and channels, the publication was used to transmit ideological and political instructions to the antisocialist opposition. The PZPR Central Committee periodical IDEOLOGY AND POLITICS, published the following on this subject: "These 'enlightened' people (representatives of the antisocialist forces) in Poland amass and collate thoughts which are transmitted to them in readymade manifestos and programs. This is quite obvious when one compares, for instance, the KOR program and pronouncements with materials published by the Paris KULTURA."

As early as 1976, this magazine in an editorial entitled "Political Opposition in Poland," published the scenario by which the antisocialist forces were guided. The article's main theses later appeared in almost verbatim form in the program of the KOR. The article maintained, among other things, that there is need to strive for educational activity and to organize within it self-administered, activist groups which would in the future become the nuclei of political pluralism. The article also recommended that the opposition operate on principles of formal legality, penetrate the workers environment, exploit legal, as well as illegal, printed matter and maintain contact with intellectuals, emigres and their publishing houses.

Developments in the PLR in the second half of the 1970s and after August 1980, demonstrate that the antisocialist forces were indeed guided by this scenario. Even in early 1978, they established the illegal, so-called trade unions and the "flying universities" trained future functionaries and activists of "Solidarity," the Independent Union of Students, as well as other organizations. Antisocialist books and periodicals were illegally published in thousands of copies. Throughout the country, the KOR built a network of illegal cells to which its couriers delivered directions, instructions, and antisocialist printed material.

Thus, in August 1980, it was KOR members and activists who prepared the strikes, organized their escalation and introduced into the workers demands (which in the first phase had a social and economic character) political and antisocialist

content. They were the ones who first raised the demand for the so-called independent trade unions and circulated it among the workers under demagogic slogans of protection of workers rights and prompt fulfillment of all, even the most unrealistic, demands. It was the representatives of the antisocialist forces and the church who, through skillful manipulation of the striking workers, transformed the demand for independent unions into the principal condition for ending the strikes.

The decisive participation of the antisocialist forces in the exacerbation of the Polish crisis, was emphasized even by the West German magazine DER SPIEGEL on 3 November 1980: "The strike in the Lenin Shipyards was carefully prepared by local members and supporters of the KOR...Everything proceeded according to Kuron's slogan 'Organize Committees Instead of Conflagrations'...The central staff of the strike front was joined by a KOR braintrust which counseled the strike committee in all situations and supplied legalistic background material for negotiations with the government."

In Solidarity which -- as if by a wave of a magic wand -- sprung up almost simultaneously all over Poland (while in reality illegally prepared long before), the antisocialist forces acquired a legal base for their activity. Through demagogic and nationalist slogans, the raising of seemingly attractive demands, this organization, pretending to have a workers character, succeeded in gaining the support of many working people. Representatives of the anti-socialist forces, making full use of the 40,000 strong, well-paid Solidarity apparatus, and enjoying the close cooperation and support of the church, were also to skillfully manipulate their positions and views. Since its inception, Solidarity had become the main instrument of the antisocialist forces. It became a factor which enabled them to conceal the demands and actions aimed at liquidation of socialism, behind the so-called interest of the working class and working people.

It was this approach on which the tactics of creeping counterrevolution were based. In the name of the workers, Solidarity raised and promoted aims which were gradually destroying the political system of socialism and legalized its new, counterrevolutionary structure. Under slogans about defense of workers rights, hundreds of strikes were organized which brought the Polish national revival, camouflaged a campaign leading to the discreditation of the PZPR and liquidation of its leading role, to a disintegration of organs of people's power, chaos and anarchy, with the aim of creating conditions for a counter-revolutionary coup.

False Slogans of the So-Called Friends of Peace

It was again confirmed in practice that the so-called independent organizations have nothing in common with the interests of the working class and socialism. While they put on a democratic face, repeatedly proclaim their workers character, and promise to safeguard socialist legality, they are willing to respect only independence from the communist party and the socialist state. They demand absolute, uncontrolled freedom, but only for those who disseminate anti-socialist views, who would destroy the socialist society. In reality, they are anything but independent. They merely provide a front behind which lurk socialism's enemies, they operate in the interest and pay of the anticommunist centers.

The role played by Solidarity in Poland in 1980-81 was the same as that played by the so-called independent and free organizations in Czechoslovakia during 1968-69, such as the Federation of Locomotive Detachments, KAN, K-231, Union of University Students, Coordinating Committee of Creative Unions, etc. Those, too, were organizers of antisocialist counterrevolutionary operations.

Such is the universally valid experience of the international communist movement. Even the Kronstadt revolt against Soviet power in the spring of 1921 was carried out under slogans of independent soviets separated from the Bolshevik party. When, at the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party, Lenin analyzed the causes, character and leaders of the uprising, he emphasized: "They all come with slogans of equality, freedom, constitutional assembly, and not once but many times we later found that such people merely served as a stepping stone, a bridge to power of the White Guards."

Such is the logic of the class struggle. Slogans calling for a status independent of the communist party and its Marxist-Leninist policy have always served and still serve the class interests of enemies of socialism. There can be no independent or somehow supraparty policy. Even though the bourgeoisie and the revisionists try to conceal this fact in every possible manner, history has unalterably confirmed that in the struggle between capitalism and socialism of which every class struggle is an inseparable part, cannot be independent. All concerned fight on one side of the barricade or the other. And those who proclaim the slogan of independence in this struggle, knowingly lead the working class and other working people into the arms of the imperialists.

This well-known Leninist truth has again been confirmed to the fullest extent in the PLR. Solidarity and similar organizations which were carrying out the plans of the antisocialist forces, have not only turned the slogans of independence and freedom into a trap into which they lured the working people and into a facade under which they concealed their true aims, but also used them as their battle cry.

As always in the past, during the recent months in the PLR, those who were spreading these slogans, posed as "friends of the people" and defenders of workers interests. In reality, however, they were acting contrary to these interests. They strove for the liquidation of workers socialist achievements, and wanted to drag the workers, peasants and intelligentsia into the serfdom of capitalism. Step by step, first covertly, more recently quite openly, they used these slogans with grim determination toward the destruction of the socialist system of government, and were preparing a counterrevolutionary coup.

[No 7, 17 Feb 82 pp 1, 3]

[Text] Before the declaration of martial law in December 1981, the PLR did not present a pretty picture. Anarchy and disruption in all spheres of social and economic life had reached their peak. Organs of peoples power were paralyzed, as was the work of the PZPR. Officials and organizations of Solidarity willfully reigned in offices, institutions, and plants. Moral terror grew against all those who did not exhibit sufficient enthusiasm for the policies of this "independent" organization and who did not "voluntarily" participate in the

strikes and demonstrations organized by Solidarity. The whole country was flooded with antisocialist and anti-Soviet slogans, posters and printed matter. The antisocialist forces were getting ready for the decisive strike.

As early as late October 1981, one of the spokesmen of Solidarity, Marian Jurczyk, spoke quite openly about the orientation of this organization toward a final accounting with the "communist regime" in Poland. In his speech, he grossly slandered members of the party and state leadership, the socialist system, and the Soviet Union. In his words, parliamentary deputies and the government were "traitors of Polish society." He stressed that "the time for coddling has ended, let them shout as much as they want, we need no longer be interested...The whole world is counting on us." At the same time, he threatened that "there will come a time when the PZPR will disappear from the plants. It will only exist in cities where they can sit and spout party ideology, the party cannot manage the economy." He also expressed quite candidly Solidarity's final objective: "It is possible that for some people there will have to be gallows on which they will hang. In my opinion, it would not hurt to build a few of these as an example. I believe this is our decisive year, there should be an upheaval which would enable us to take power into our hands."

Yes, such was Solidarity's program from its very inception. After all, even L. Walesa confirmed this is a conversation with journalists at a Solidarity meeting in Gdansk in December 1981, when he said: "We will eventually get them (i.e., communists true to socialism - K.H.), including those in the highest places, despite the fact that they will try to escape in their helicopters." Do we need clearer testimony that Solidarity representatives began to see themselves in the role of rulers of Poland, in a situation where its detachments of thugs have finally liquidated the socialist system in the PLR, its representatives, and all those who consistently defended it?

No Treaties Possible With Antisocialists

Solidarity's every action was subordinated to this one goal of seizing power. All that stood in its way, all institutions which still retained their socialist character and in which the party and government still exerted a certain influence, were to be either subordinated to Solidarity or else liquidated. It is for this reason that Solidarity pressed so vehemently for an economic reform on its terms. The substance of this reform was abolition of socialist ownership and its replacement by group ownership and takeover of management in enterprises by self-administered groups of "workers" under Solidarity's patronage. In order to make certain that this process of liquidation of the economic foundation of socialism proceed smoothly and precisely according to Solidarity's vision, the government was to hand over economic management to a so-called social council composed of people who enjoyed Solidarity's confidence. A similar objective -- to take over control of mass communication media -- was behind the demand to establish their own -- independent of state control -- editorial offices in radio and television, and the abolition of management of news media by state and party organs. The call for so-called free elections for seats in the Sejm and the national councils in which the candidates would be "independent" representatives of all the organizations which legally or

illegally operated in Poland, according to a scenario prepared by Solidarity, was to climax the counterrevolution.

In the struggle to push through the demands, the behavior of Solidarity's representatives and organizations was becoming increasingly more provocative, brazen and arrogant. Ultimatums to the Sejm and government, the attempt to push the PZPR organizations out of the plants, increasingly sharper attacks on the security organs, ceaseless escalation of antisocialist and anti-Soviet propaganda, all this was in preparation for the final confrontation.

Even in this situation when it was obvious to everyone that Solidarity intended to seize power, the government kept trying to resolve the crisis through negotiations. Solidarity's response was a resounding no to the PZPR and government proposal to establish a front of national reconciliation. It was clear that for the Solidarity leadership words about agreement and dialogue have all along been merely a means of deceiving the workers, only a tactic to force the government into concessions and to gain advantageous positions for the final confrontation.

None of the agreements concluded since the first in August 1980 were good enough for Solidarity, which constantly violated and frustrated them all. The situation was always the same. Even before the ink was dry on an agreement, Solidarity's representatives would already be raising new ultimatums and threatening new strikes. No concession or compromise by the government was good enough but always only provided a pretext for more far-reaching demands. Anytime Solidarity was forced to compromise or retreat even an inch, it promptly unleashed a propaganda circus, claiming that the government was applying undemocratic methods, violating the so-called social contract and seeking confrontation. A dialogue in Solidarity's conception was nothing but a monologue of the antisocialist forces. All those who stood up in defense of socialism and friendship with the Soviet Union were immediately branded enemies of Polish revival and the people, or simply dogmatists, while a vast campaign was unleashed against them from all quarters.

Developments in Poland thus demonstrated once again that no agreements are possible with those who fight against the socialist system and strive for its overthrow. All those who embark on such a path, endanger the political power of the working class to its very foundations.

Financed by Anticommunist Centers

Imperialist centers of ideological diversion were not only the patrons of those who stood in the shadow of Solidarity's birth and directed its operations, but also provided it -- either directly or through various organizations, including the yellow trade unions -- with great material and moral support. Throughout the 16 months of its existence, Solidarity's activity was featured prominently in the bourgeois communications media, as well as in statements by leaders of the capitalist countries. From these countries also flowed millions of dollars, pounds, West German marks, as well as significant material "presents" into Solidarity's treasury.

Solidarity's officials did not even try to conceal the fact that they had considerable hard currency means at their disposal. At a preelection assembly in Gdynia in July 1981, for instance, L. Walesa stated that he had sent \$11,000, which was received from Sweden, to the Gdansk organization, and \$60,000, received from Greece, to the Wroczlaw organization for the purchase of printing dyes abroad. He added: "We are receiving other types of currency as well, marks, francs, pounds...we have funds in foreign accounts. In the United States, for example, Solidarity has \$600,000, and a little more money in other countries." The fact that Solidarity owned considerable funds deposited abroad, was also confirmed by Z. Zlotkowski, an official of its Gdansk leadership: "While the Ministry of Finance authorized Solidarity to expend \$2,500 per quarter, we have spent \$250,000 for printing machines alone, for example, such as those which were recently installed in Gdansk. We will be purchasing 10 sets of such equipment for the union." A good part of the funds acquired in this manner, ended up in private accounts. At the same assembly in Gdynia, A. Gwiazda, for example, admitted that he had received \$3,000 from Australia and deposited it in his own account because, he alleged, he was subject to different regulations. As we can see, Solidarity had no shortage of funds. Without any control, its officials distributed large sums and spent even more for purchases abroad. Even in the management of Polish currency, Solidarity chieftains did not worry about a million zlotys here and there. As shown by documents discovered in a safe belonging to the Wroczlaw branch of Solidarity after the declaration of martial law, 80 million zlotys was paid to the counselor of Solidarity's regional leadership, Jozef Ponior, without any specification of the purpose for which these funds were to be used.

This practice of dispensing funds without any justification was quite common, as revealed during an investigation by accountant Bozena M. Equally unexplained is the amount of 167,000 zlotys which members of Solidarity's Silesian-Dobrowski leadership spent in Warsaw hotels, as well as what happened to millions collected for more than 40,000 tickets sold for admission to various so-called cultural events organized by Solidarity's regional branches.

From the capitalist countries, this "independent" trade union organization received not only money, but also generous material aid. It was equipped with everything it might need for ideological persuasion of the population and for waging a political struggle. An incomplete survey of this material aid includes the most modern printing and duplicating equipment, hundreds of tons of paper, television studio furnishings, including cameras, motion picture cameras, photographic cameras, radio transmitters, listening devices for monitoring telephone conversations, personal automobiles, minibuses and large quantities of consumer goods intended for rewarding the faithful and bribing those who still needed to be convinced. A portion of this material aid arrived openly, the rest illegally, concealed as aid "for the needy" in Poland. As confirmed by customs officials in Gdansk, this "switch" in contents of deliveries addressed to Solidarity Gdansk, occurred frequently, especially during November and early December of last year. At that time, gifts for Solidarity from its friends in the United States, FRG, and other capitalist countries, were literally pouring in. The customs records, for instance, show delivery of a duplicating machine worth 800,000 zlotys, printing machinery worth almost half a million Swedish crowns, and motion picture cameras worth 1 million

zlotys. Crates marked as foodstuffs, contained radio transmitters, paper for leaflets, etc., instead of canned meat and powdered milk.

March to the Overthrow of the Government

What Solidarity needed these and voluminous other materials for was more than obvious, namely, to possess at the time of the decisive strike all that would be needed to organize and manage the overthrow of the government, toward which Solidarity and its advisers from the KOR were consistently oriented. The only question was when. The decision was finally made to act in the second half of December, after the government had refused to submit to Solidarity's most provocative demands, and when the PZPR Central Committee instructed PZPR members in parliament to present and discuss in the Sejm a law granting the government emergency powers to restore order and suppress antisocial activity (as seen from its leadership's decision in Gdansk, Solidarity's final deadline for action was 15 January 1982, the date by which there was to be a referendum on confidence in the government).

The fact that Solidarity was preparing its final move to seize power, is clearly attested to by the course of its leadership's meeting in Radom in early December 1981. It was there that L. Walesa and other officials quite openly admitted that they were preparing the final strike within the next few days. L. Walesa clearly expressed this conclusion when he said: "Confrontation is inevitable and there is no doubt it will come...I naturally wanted to delay confrontation until such time as almost all the social groupings were with us. I miscalculated. I believed that if we persevered, we could bring down the Sejm, the national councils, etc. We now see that we can go no further with such tactics. We, therefore, choose the road of lightning maneuver...For today it is already clear that Andrzej Gwiazda did not leave the leadership because our views differ substantially on what course to follow. The only difference is that his road and Jan Rulewski's demand immediate use of tanks and aircraft. Naturally, they are right. We will win but we wanted to avoid paying the ultimate price. There is no doubt that this struggle cannot be won without paying a price. The aim is to pay as little as possible. Therefore, we must choose the place and set the price we are willing to pay. As long as we have the right plan and make the right decisions, the fight we choose may be less costly, but a fight there will be. We reject all the fronts of national entente! Serious problems will be decided by Solidarity alone."

Other Solidarity leaders made the plan for confrontation and seizure of power even more precise. Jan Rulewski emphasized the necessity of attacking at any price the regional organs of state power, and compromise them before the elections. "People will attack the regional leadership and Solidarity, which will operate to compromise all basic organs of state, will make capital from this. This is the course we must follow, starting today." Andrzej Sobieraj proposed that "Solidarity groups take over a portion of the state administration and, at all cost, remove the local and regional organs." Wladyslaw Frasnynik demanded to "build and expand the union apparatus which in the future will assume its place in the state administration." Grzegorz Palka, in his turn, stressed that it would be necessary to establish patrols composed of

Solidarity members equipped with helmets and night sticks. Zbiegbiew Bujak announced that the immediate task of these "patrols," in reality some sort of combat commandos, would be the "liberation" (which translated into normal language means occupation - K.H.) of the Committee for Radio and Television in Warsaw. He also demanded the immediate establishment of a so-called Social Council. "It will be something on the order of a provisional national government." Zdislaw Rozwalak spoke in a similar vein: "We must make society aware that the government cannot be trusted. It must be overthrown, exposed for what it is and stripped of any remaining confidence it may still enjoy." This assembly also approved a document entitled "Standpoint" which threatened a 24-hour general strike if the Sejm were to approve the law enabling the government to resort to emergency measures to restore order and peace, and a strike of unlimited duration should the government actually apply such measures.

That these were no empty threats but rather concrete steps and concrete preparation for seizing power, is documented by many facts. In the Warsaw and other Solidarity organizations, they were setting up the so-called permanent worker patrols which were to supplement the structure of the already existing commandos and hit squads (some sort of police forces) belonging to Solidarity. Under the slogan of "No Politics in the Workshop," there was intensified activity to frustrate the work of PZPR organizations, their secretariats in plants were occupied and there was a broad campaign for their complete expulsion from work sites. Solidarity headquarters in Gdansk sent their emissaries to Katowice and other areas to instruct local officials how to prepare for the "uprising." There were also instructions on how to disarm members of Public Security and the military at the time of the coup. The Solidarity leadership in Szczecin (and not only there) had a complete plan for the occupation of official premises, especially radio and television stations, and the regional PZPR committee. In the Gliwick area they established a so-called exchange center, which was a cover name for a headquarters which would direct production and distribution processes. Various Solidarity departments were preparing a so-called government of national trust, slogans proclaiming "death to the PZPR" were being unveiled, etc. Stated briefly, Solidarity unleashed a psychosis of an uprising throughout the country.

Protest demonstrations were announced for 17 December 1981 in Warsaw and many other localities, in which university and secondary school students were to participate. The aim of these demonstrations was to be to express the demand that the lawful PLR Government resign. "If these demonstrations take place all over the country," stressed J. Onyszkiewicz, "the state leadership will be unable to concentrate its forces." Let us add--and will be unable to contain the attempt to seize power.

The so-called rural Solidarity actively participated in the preparation for the overthrow of people's power in Poland. It boycotted food deliveries, occupied public buildings, and presented ultimatums to the national councils. The Independent Union of Students (acting under the patronage of Solidarity and its advisers) organized strikes at almost all universities and many secondary and even primary schools. In short, they created conditions in which the students would function as Solidarity's reserves in the operations for the overthrow of the government.

The refusal of Solidarity's leadership to join the front of national entente led by the communists, and attempts to create in its place an "independent and self-managed alliance of national forces" under Solidarity's leadership, was an attempt to form a broad anti-Soviet coalition which would also serve as foundation of the new political system. It is not without interest to examine what its substance was to be. Besides Solidarity, rural Solidarity, and the Independent Union of Students, there were to be more than 30 illegally or semilegally operating political parties and organizations. Their political spectrum was indeed a colorful one. From organizations with ties to the pre-war National Democratic Party and the fascist-leaning tendencies of Pilsudski, they extended through the Trotskyites, all the way to social democratic and Christian democratic groupings. What united them was hatred of socialism and the desire to restore a capitalist system in the PLR, and again integrate Poland into the imperialist camp.

Preparations for the counterrevolutionary coup climaxed at a session of Solidarity's national commission in Gdansk, which on 12 December 1981 decided to hold by 15 January 1982 at the latest a national referendum on confidence in the PZPR and the government, and on the formation of a provisional government. At the same meeting, 17 December was proclaimed a day of protest against the government.

It is quite obvious that in an atmosphere of antisocialist hysteria which Solidarity had been inciting for a long time with great determination, this so-called day of protest was actually to be the steppingstone to the counterrevolutionary coup. The referendum was later to provide a stamp of legality to the liquidation of socialism and a mandate of the "people" to the provisional government which could then settle in blood--assuming it had not already happened earlier--accounts with the adherents of socialism.

Solidarity has thus willfully violated not only the constitution and its own pledges, but also the elementary principles of the functioning of any type of state. During the 16 months of its activity, it had demonstrated that, within the organism of a socialist society -- and against the interest of its rank and file, it was as an instrument of the antisocialist forces. They were the ones at its cradle and they branded it with their program, methods of operation and the ultimate goal which, as events clearly demonstrated, was counterrevolution.

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[Text] In the light of Polish developments after August 1980, how paradoxical are the furious attacks which, following the declaration of martial law, were unleashed against Poland and the Soviet Union by bourgeois propaganda, revisionists and official representatives of the capitalist states. With unconcealed rage, they attack the constitutional organs of the PLR and accuse them of suppressing democratic freedoms and human rights. Things and events, however, must be called by their right names. Democracy and freedom which were abolished by martial law and which the imperialist circles so bemoan, was democracy for the antisocialist forces and freedom for their machinations to destroy the socialist society.

When sworn enemies of socialism threatened to build gallows for communists, and Solidarity proclaimed its plans for the overthrow of the socialist system, disrupted the national economy through strikes, expelled the PZPR organizations from plants and spread chaos and anarchy, the bourgeois press and the governments of the capitalist countries did not protest. On the contrary, they incited this activity in every possible way and elevated Solidarity to the "ultimate" in democracy and freedom in socialist Poland. Not even the moral terror, the discreditation of hundreds of thousands of honest communists, slandering of socialist ideals and the alliance with the Soviet Union, nor the affront to the civic pride of millions of citizens were in conflict with how these circles visualized democracy in Poland.

Hypocrisy of the West

At the moment when the people's power acted to put an end to counterrevolutionary havoc and began to restore order and normal social and economic life in Poland, the governments of the capitalist states and their servant communications media unleashed a hate-filled clamor about suppression in Poland, military dictatorship and violations of democracy, freedom and human rights. Contrary to all usages of international relations, they even usurp for themselves the right to punish the PLR Government through political and economic sanctions.

The fact that the campaign against the PLR is a collection of lies and slander intended to deceive workers in the capitalist countries and the world public, is not doubted even by many public figures in the capitalist world. The publisher of the West German weekly STERN, Mr Henri Nannen, for example, branded the attacks which the West wages against Poland as hypocritical. "This hypocrisy," he wrote in the first January issue of STERN, "began when people who consider any struggle for employment here as a crime against free democratic institutions, rejoiced whenever a new strike was called in Poland...Was it a question of greater freedom within the existing socialist system," he asked, and replied: "No, the aim was to make Poland the center of conflagration in the Soviet Bloc...It was hypocrisy to refuse to recognize that the extremists were gaining increasingly more influence in Solidarity."

In this article, H. Nannen also shows the true aim of these forces, namely, an uprising and overthrow of socialism: "Conditions in Poland had reached such a point that on 12 December Solidarity demanded in Gdansk a vote on its referendum which, together with a general strike, was to impose on Poland a social system of the Western democratic type which would be anticommunist in its substance."

The author of this statement can certainly not be suspected of communist sympathies. It can, therefore, serve as potent testimony that the campaign against Poland and the Soviet Union is not at all concerned with democracy, but rather with the foiled interests and plans of imperialism. For according to them, the PLR was to be "democratized" according to the NATO doctrine and a so-called independent Poland, torn out of the socialist community, was to be the first step in the revision of the postwar arrangement in Europe and a change

in the balance of forces between capitalism and socialism. The anticommunist center had yet another goal, namely, they hoped that the developments in Poland would lead to a destabilization of the entire socialist community, that it would work toward internal erosion in the other socialist countries.

The demands which the U.S. President, the NATO council, and governments of other capitalist countries raised against the PLR Government, also confirm the real aim of the imperialists in this campaign. This coarse political and economic coercion is intended to pressure the Polish authorities to restore the situation as it existed before the declaration of martial law. Under threat of sanctions, the government of a sovereign state is being ordered to abolish the emergency measures, release the interned Solidarity leaders and fully restore the dialogue between the state on one side and Solidarity and the church on the other. Since the PLR Government rejects this dictate, President Reagan loudly proclaims all over the world that conditions in Poland are worsening. One can legitimately ask what business the United States and NATO have in the internal affairs of the PLR. What gives them the right to exert pressures and grossly interfere in the development of this socialist country? The answer is simple, nothing.

Strange Logic of Revisionists

It is regrettable, but not surprising, that the declaration of martial law in the PLR also became the pretext for gross attacks against the CPSU, the Soviet Union, the PLR, and real socialism, for the so-called Eurocommunists. Statements by the leaders of the Italian and Spanish communist parties are no better than the approach of the most reactionary imperialist forces in the crudeness of attacks on real socialism and the Soviet Union. The general secretary of the Communist Party of Spain [PCE], Santiago Carillo, for instance, vehemently demanded in his public appearances the abolition of martial law and restoration of the dialogue between the PZPR and Solidarity and the church. Moreover, Carillo in his assessment of the situation went even further than representatives of the capitalist states when he said that he saw no difference between the present situation in Poland and fascist dictatorships in other countries. As always, Carillo did not hesitate to crudely assault the CPSU and the Soviet Union. In his words, the Polish crisis was caused by forcing the "Soviet model" of socialism on Poland, even though it is in conflict with conditions in that country. He also accused the USSR that the declaration of martial law was undertaken under its pressure. Like all other revisionists, he claimed that society in the Soviet Union is neither communist nor socialist. "We have come to the conclusion," he announced, "that between that which we consider the socialist ideal and the official ideology of the Soviet Union, there is fundamental conflict." What this conflict was, he explained at a press conference in Madrid on 11 January, when he again conformed that the PCE has definitely abandoned Marxist-Leninist principles and is instead pursuing the line of the so-called Eurocommunism, including the formation of some sort of "Eurocommunist," i.e., revisionist international which would overcome the "historical rift" between communists and socialists.

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] also denounced the Polish Government measures as a "blow against efforts to find a political solution for

the Polish crisis with the participation of all social strata, the only road to real democratization." Like the governments of the imperialist states, the PCI demands abolition of the state of emergency, restoration of "civil and trade union rights," and a dialogue between the government, Solidarity and the church. According to the PCI, the Polish crisis cannot be blamed on the reactionary forces inimical to socialism, it is rather the consequence of the PLR's application of the so-called "Soviet model" of socialism.

The assertion of the PCI that the Polish crisis is not the result of machinations by the antisocialist forces but a consequence of the application of the so-called Soviet model, is supposed to provide backing for its "Eurocommunist" theses. In order to justify to its own membership the so-called third road to socialism and their revisionist thesis that the driving force of the October Revolution is exhausted, that the stage of the workers movement stemming from that event is ending, that a "new type of socialism" must develop in the West, the PCI leadership must besmirch and reject real socialism. In order to create a "realistic" base for slandering Leninism, it must reject its application in the USSR and in the countries of the socialist community, and "prove" that the society which has been built there is really not socialism but rather its deformation. The martial law in Poland has thus become a welcome opportunity for the PCI leadership to initiate a long-prepared rift with Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The fact that the leaders of these parties, in evaluating the causes of the Polish crisis, in exerting pressure on the PLR Government, and in attacks on the Soviet Union and real socialism, share a platform with the most reactionary circles of imperialism, is a logical climax for all those who enter the revisionist road and reject Marxist-Leninist teachings. E. Bernstein, K. Kautsky, O. Bauer, R. Garaudy, E. Fisher, and a long assortment of other revisionists and renegades, all posed as the only true interpreters and heirs of Marx's work, and they all ended up as apologists and direct supporters of the bourgeoisie. The revisionists in the CPCZ also belonged during the crisis years in our country to the principal organizers of creeping counterrevolution.

The history of the international communist movement has often confirmed that revisionism, no matter what theories it wraps itself in, is an arch enemy of the revolutionary workers movements and its vanguard, the communist parties. On the historical scene of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, revisionism has always stood and still stands on the side of reaction.

It was no different in the PLR. Opportunists and revisionists played the part of active helpers of the antisocialist forces in the PZPR as well. They undermined the party from within, attacked its Marxist-Leninist character and tried in every way to liquidate Leninist principles in its work. Through slogans about some sort of "Polish" model of socialism and the need to reject the universal legalities of socialist construction, which allegedly did not suite the specific Polish conditions, they disoriented not only party members but also broad strata of the working people. They thus played directly into the hands of the antisocialist forces and their propaganda. By supporting Solidarity and belittling the counterrevolutionary threat, they created in the party an

atmosphere of passivity. Through the spreading of illusions about some sort of socialist pluralism, they intensified the ideological wavering of party members, etc. All this multiplied the attacks on the PZPR launched by the antisocialist forces and, along with other causes, contributed to the fact that the PZPR organizations lost their ability to act. The revisionists in the PLR today, such as S. Bratkowski for one, reject the need for martial law and defend the antisocialist activity of Solidarity.

Those who criticize -- be it in Poland or abroad -- current developments in the PLR from revisionist positions, have not learned their lesson. They do not see, rather they do not want to see, that the organization whose activity they so staunchly defend, was systematically and with determination liquidating the socialist order and was preparing a counterrevolutionary coup. Neither do they see, nor want to see, that currently it is Solidarity's officials who in Poland and abroad are trying to organize some sort of resistance movement, issue calls for strikes and passive resistance, publish illegal leaflets in which they threaten individual communists and the PZPR as a whole, incite to civil war and in many other ways strive to disrupt the process of consolidation for which foundations have been laid.

One truly wonders on what strange logic the revisionists base their positions. On the one hand, they swear allegiance to socialism and, on the other, defend those who were preparing its liquidation in Poland, and conduct shameful hate campaigns against those who strive for revival of socialist construction. Such, however, is the end of all revisionists. Being captives of their false theories of democracy and freedom, omnipotence of pluralism, and new "roads" and "models" of socialism, they abandon real socialism and its theoretical foundation, Marxism-Leninism, and betray the most fundamental interests of the working class.

Different Tactics, Same Goals

The Roman Catholic Church and its leaders who pose as patriots and defenders of Polish workers interests, are also among those who criticize developments in the PLR after 13 December 1981, and raise their voices in defense of "freedom," "conscience" and naturally, Solidarity as well. In the proclamation of Polish bishops which was read on 31 January 1982 as a pastoral letter, the church leaders demanded the restoration of "liberties," end to martial law, the right to organize "independent" unions and youth associations, and the resumption of a dialogue. The Polish primate, Archbishop J. Glemp, has preached on a number of occasions in the same spirit.

Not even the pope, John-Paul II, has missed a single opportunity since 13 December 1981 to criticize the PLR Government and to express his sympathies to Solidarity. On 9 February 1982, he even received 12 Solidarity officials, who are abroad, in a special audience, to underline through his authority the importance which the church assigns to this counterrevolutionary organization. His address on this occasion, in which he stated that the only way to solve the crisis is to restore all the rights to Solidarity, which, in his words, had no political objectives, demonstrates the carefully thought-out tactics of pressure on the PLR Government. After all, the visit of J. Glemp and two other

members of the episcopate to the Vatican and their many discussions with the pope, show that, as it has done all along since August 1980, the church wants to exploit even today the religious feelings of PLR citizens toward influencing them and acting in the role of some sort of intermediary, thus help steer developments in a direction desired by the church.

What this direction is was stated quite clearly by J. Glemp: "We must lift ourselves from the abyss by our own efforts and in unity. And unity can only be achieved through dialogue. Let the committees of civic salvation be established. Priests, however, will not be participating because their task is to pave the road to national unity according to the laws of the gospel." Thus, the aim is to achieve unity of the Polish nation under the leadership of the church, and create conditions for its becoming the decisive force which will direct both the government and Solidarity from the background, and which will, in fact, determine how the country will be governed.

Solidarity, which the church helped bring to the world, supported in every way and significantly influenced its activity, was to play -- according to the visions of the church hierarchy -- the role of a strong but obedient instrument in the church's hands. Through Solidarity, there was to be pressure on the government to make it sufficiently receptive to the church's political demands. The goals of the church hierarchy never really differed from those of the antisocialist forces, except that the church would have preferred to achieve the liquidation of socialism more gradually through precisely gradated ideological pressure, linked with the coercion tactics of Solidarity. When, after 13 December 1981, they failed to achieve this goal, they would like to realize it today. They would like to see the process of renewal proceed on the basis of Christian unity -- in their view it cannot be otherwise -- under the ideological leadership of the church, which alone should be the arbiter of Poland's future fate.

The church and its leaders in the PLR, however, should not forget that they were the ones who served mass for the strikers and incited them to antisocialist activities, they were the ones who blessed Solidarity's banners and supported its political demands. The cross became the second symbol of Solidarity. It is certainly no coincidence that early last year the pope granted L. Walesa an ostentatious audience, and that before all important Solidarity actions, Walesa consulted the Polish primate. It is the height of hypocrisy when the pope proclaims today that Solidarity had no political aims, and when Polish bishops accuse the government of undemocratic behavior. The "democracy" which, through Solidarity, the church helped to install, was much more intolerant and undemocratic than the approach of the government today.

Imperialism Against Consolidation

No deep analyses are needed to show in which direction is aimed the coordinated campaign of the imperialist circles, their servant communications media, the revisionists and the church, in its effort against the PLR. It is meant to discredit real socialism and reduce its attractiveness for the working people in the capitalist countries. At the same time, it strives to divert attention of the world public from the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and from the

undeniable fact that the United States and its allies in NATO are rejecting them and, ignoring the opinion of the working people in their own countries, are accelerating the wheels of new arms production and preparing for nuclear war. The "struggle" for democracy and freedom in Poland is used by the imperialists as a smokescreen behind which they want to conceal their own crimes in El Salvador, Chile, and other countries, and to ascribe to the socialist countries, especially the Soviet Union, the very characteristics which are capitalism's own, such as antidemocracy, inhumanity, exploitation of the working people and suppression of their basic rights.

And with respect to Poland, they want to intimidate its government and force it, through economic sanctions, to again provide elbowroom for the activity of the antisocialist forces. All those who are now attacking Poland from this or that position are well aware that the situation in the PLR cannot be returned to the period of anarchy, chaos and whipped-up antisocialist atmosphere of the days before 13 December 1981. Therefore, they at least try to prevent the realization of consolidation on the basis of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism, prevent the PZPR from restoring its Leninist character and its leading role in society, and becoming again the moving force of development in Polish society and guarantor of its socialist progress.

They wish to see consolidation on a classless principle of liberalism and nationalism, expressed by the slogan "A Pole Will Eventually always Get Along With Another Pole." Under the rubric of consolidation, they would like to install some sort of liberal democratic pluralism with a socialist facade, composed of the church, Solidarity and the party, thus reaching the goal which was rather aptly formulated by Austrian Chancellor Kreisky: "Curtail the influence of communism in a communist country." And we should add, thus achieve in this manner its gradual liquidation.

Crucial Role of the Party

The state of emergency, which, due to the threat to socialism in Poland, was necessary, is only a temporary measure. It succeeded in averting the immediate peril of counterrevolution and in creating prerequisites for the restoration of order and overcoming disruptions in the economy. The 2 months of its existence have shown that the determined action against the counterrevolutionary forces was greeted by a large majority of the population with understanding, even though it subjected citizens to many restrictions. The restoration of order and elimination of antisocialist incitement, created conditions for overcoming the crisis in which this fraternal country has been suffering for many long months, and the serious consequences in all spheres left by the anti-socialist forces and Solidarity.

There can be no doubt that the road to restoring socialist construction in Poland will be complicated and difficult. In all spheres of life, from the economy all the way to the people's consciousness, the PLR organs must resolve many problems, overcome erroneous views and continue to struggle against the still powerful internal enemy who has not abandoned his plans.

The tasks which the Polish communists must now address are many. The fundamental and decisive one is consolidation of the party. Action capability of its organs and organizations, unity of the PZPR on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, consistent application of Leninist norms in its work: This is the only road on which the party can again become a strong revolutionary force and be recognized as the leading force in society.

As demonstrated by the CPCZ experiences in the struggle to overcome the crisis in Czechoslovakia, for Marxist-Leninist unity in the party it is necessary to fight. It is essential to defeat the opportunists and revisionists and expel them from the party. It is necessary to part even with those who showed weakness in a difficult period and thus lost the confidence of the people.

There is no doubt that a similar process -- even though under different conditions -- is confronting the PZPR today. It too has the task of waging a determined struggle against the opportunists and revisionists, a struggle for ideological purity in the party and for overcoming the centrist slogan voiced at the Ninth PZPR Congress by S. Kania: "We will march neither left nor right, but straight ahead."

As emphasized in TRYBUNA LUDU by the chairman of the PZPR Central Commission of Party Control, J. Urbanski: "The greatest danger for the party at the present time are revisionist, nationalist and also capitulationist tendencies." Without overcoming them, without party unity and its Leninist character, the process of consolidation cannot be brought to successful fruition.

9496

CSO: 2400/173

POLITICAL COMMENTATOR MINARIK ON POLISH CRISIS

Prague TVORBA in Czech No 5, 1 Feb 82 p 6

[Article by Pavol Minarik: "Poland: Seeking a New Way"]

[Text] In the past I would smile to myself at reporters who began their stories essentially by describing how they got to the place of action. Nevertheless, I have no choice but to begin this article about my recent trip to the Polish People's Republic [PLR] precisely the way they did.

Just a few hours after the national council of the PLR had declared a state of emergency in the country I found myself on the Czechoslovak-Polish border and I must admit I had misgivings as to whether I would be able to cross in a northerly direction. At that time, the situation in Poland was unusually grave and, furthermore, as a special correspondent I am not among those who had the right to cross the border directly after declaration of the state of emergency. The Polish passport control office proceeded accordingly. Since I did not have special permission to cross over I had no choice but to pick up my rather heavy luggage and leave. My momentary haplessness, together with the prospect of lasting disgrace which surely awaited me at the editor's office for prematurely returning from a country where something was going on, gave me a bright idea--to ask for permission to cross the border from the military commissar of the Military Council of National Salvation, which surely had an office at the border crossing. At that moment I did not know where, but in less than 15 minutes I was standing in his office. I recalled from my time in the service that when one wants something from the commander he should not ask for it but demand it and the more peremptorily the greater the chance of success. So I made my demand, out loud, right from the door.

The colonel, who appeared to be closer to 40 than 50, must have had more than enough that really chilly night, but he listened to me quietly.

"Why do you want to come here just now?" he asked.

"I have been in your country 6 times in the last 16 months." Involuntarily I began telling him about my journalistic travels and wanderings during which I often met up with the bitter realities of Poland. "And now, just when something important is going on, when a momentous change is taking

place in Poland, believe me, I cannot remain at home," I said defending myself tooth and nail.

It was hard to tell anything in advance from his austere military appearance. He asked for my passport and perhaps to verify my words, or just idly, he began to count the entry stamps from the Polish passport control in my travel document. When he had counted six of them he made an appropriate sign and a seventh one was added. Then he offered me a cigarette and tea and, even though I am a nonsmoker and I was extremely warm, I found myself smoking and drinking tea with this soldier as though we were buddies.

"You know," he began saying in his turn, "I remember some of your articles which are often quoted here. From the way you write, I expected you to be older. We won't prevent you from coming here and writing about what is going on in Poland now. It's in our interest, too, for your people to know the whole truth."

Seventeen days in the land of our northern neighbors only confirmed the fact that a striking change had come about in Poland, a change that saved this country from certain disaster. After all, what the radical leaders of the National Consultative Commission of Solidarity had agreed upon at their meetings in Radom and Gdansk was really beyond all reasonable bounds of political tolerance and good sense.

What Remained of the Scheme

The "independent Polish trade unions" which originally spoke only about "democracy, justice and a better Poland" rather quickly forgot about these particular "aspirations." Furthermore, there began open antistate and anti-social activities among those who a while ago had claimed to be "representatives" of the workers.

I probably need not even mention the situation in the land in the middle of last December when the PLR national council declared a state of emergency. Deterioration of working and social discipline prevailed, production was dropping from day to day, wages were sharply increasing together with inflation at a rate almost unprecedented in today's civilized world. Regulations and orders indispensable to the normal life of society became subjects of discussion and laws were almost laughed at by those who flouted them every day. The black market grew to uncontrollable dimensions.

It is easy to understand that under such circumstances introducing constraints resulting from the state of emergency was not at all simple. The demoralizing element which Solidarity had been disseminating at full tilt for a year and a half probably affected Polish society far too much. Even though it seems incredible, it is a fact. Some of the people, under the influence of the "independent unions," simply began to take it for granted that they could tear down with impunity what others had built up during years of honest work. Many of the leaders of Solidarity had built their lightning careers precisely on this basis. Even today, although the most extreme ones together with their advisers have been interned, there can be

found those who stubbornly keep exhorting people to passive or active resistance against the state of emergency in the land. They obstinately persist in their thesis that "only through chaos, shortages and disturbances can Poland attain its higher goals." A clear-thinking person, however, will ask himself: How could such ideas find support, and often still do, among the people? The answer is not easy to find but there are now many examples of all kinds showing how and why the radical leaders of the "independent unions" succeeded. If they were not aided by demagogy, there were various advantages offered to Solidarity supporters, and if even that did not work, they simply used force. In fact, let us recall the specific and literally classic example of demagogy as used by Lech Walesa, leader of Solidarity, after his return from Japan. At that time he said, among other things, "In a short time we will build a second Japan here and everyone will envy us." Well, there is an old proverb, promises are a dime a dozen. When it came to action, it was a lot worse. Mr Lech certainly knew how to talk, truth to tell, on any subject, but when it came to doing something positive, that was another matter. Luckily, he was not always successful, even with his negative ideas. For example, in the first half of December 1981, he was heard to say that confrontation was inevitable. But what people would eat the next day, whether children would have any winter clothing or workers would have better working and living conditions--that did not interest this "union official." Only bloody confrontation with the public authorities and the party churned in his head day and night those last days. He became an advocate of Jurczyk's theory that "party committees must be burned down and communists hanged and the higher the better." That was also what was wanted by Walesa's closest advisers: Kurone, Michnik, Lipsky, Lipinsky and Wujce.

Today, when Walesa is not in direct contact with these "benefactors" he cannot manage, without their "advice," to do anything but just be silent. It is true that at the beginning he tried a hunger strike but pretty soon hunger became stronger than his resolve.

Who Is and Who Is Not a Traitor

To involve himself in the reconstruction of the economy shattered through his fault--that is obviously the last thing that Walesa wants. Illegal Solidarity printed matter, which even now is still appearing, is prepared to say that "Walesa is convinced that the communists before very long will come to him begging on their knees for forgiveness." At the same time those Solidarity leaders who publicly declared that they want to help find a way out of the crisis by honest work are being branded as traitors and collaborators who will be dealt with later.

In spite of these voices the majority of Poles simply want peace and quiet in their country and to have daily life return to complete normalcy. I was in a number of plants and institutes where the people did not hesitate to say that they had had enough of adventurism and endless strikes which brought the country to the brink of the abyss. Many of them are rightly embittered over the results of Solidarity's actions. In more than one case, even the members of the "independent unions" did not hesitate to say that no

one had asked for their opinions--and not just recently--and that they had served only to show the number of members. Their bosses forgot about them only too quickly. They thought only about themselves. Wages of 20,000 plus 8,000 to 10,000 zlotys bonus monthly, that was the measure of their "equality and democracy" for which they had fought with such heartbreak.

Today, when the activity of Solidarity has been stopped, the leaders and workers of the "independent unions" who have not been interned had to return to the jobs they held before the rise of Solidarity and start to earn their living by honest work. Even from the first days of the state of emergency it became clear that some of the leaders of Solidarity are incorrigible. In spite of the prohibition to organize strikes or other protest demonstrations they carried on activities that ran counter to the proclamation of the Military Council of National Salvation. It is easy to understand that security bodies could not be indifferent to this. There was scarcely a day that they did not find several of them and bring them to court. The struggle against these people will apparently last for some time yet, especially when it comes to light that some of the Solidarity leaders who were not interned are involved in conspiratorial activities. They simply do not want the country to return to normal. In that case, their activity would be restricted to trade union matters only and thus they would not be able to grant themselves, try as they might, salaries that are triple those of university professors. That is precisely why they were anxious to promote chaos and still are. They were doing very well in troubled waters. The income that they were getting let them live well, even in such an unfavorable situation as prevailed in the country until recently. Those whose pay was 4,000 to 5,000 zlotys could only rail against the public authorities and continually push for the introduction of unrealistic demands which did not lead to anything but the ruin of all society. Consequently, sober-thinking people in Poland today agree with the provisions which issued from the declaration of the state of emergency. Whether certain circles in the West which supported the opposition in Poland like it or not, after 16 months of chaos and anarchy, life is beginning to return to normal. In plants, enterprises and institutes the working rhythm has begun to pulsate and classes in universities are starting again.

Of course, it would not be true to claim that now everything will change for the better in no time, but a period of honest work will surely bring positive results. Months of stagnation, or rather deterioration, in almost all aspects of the national economy and social life brought about a great deal of mischief which will not be easy to eliminate, but the most important thing of all is that this process has started without delay.

Be Done With Speculators

Among the important factors in the state of emergency in the land of our northern neighbors is also the fact that Public Security and the army, together with control bodies, declared open warfare against profiteers, speculators and corruption. In the past year and a half these maladies really flourished in Poland. While national trade experienced the worst period in its existence, the black market literally bulged with scarce

goods. Today the situation is beginning to change. Speculators who pfofited for years from dishonest work will naturally not give up easily. They think up new, often ingenious methods of illegally obtaining goods which they then sell at a profit many times over. Until recently they were hardly ever stopped, but now an important change has occurred. Scarcely a day passes that Polish security bodies do not let the public know that they have apprehended groups of speculators or individuals. Their property, often worth several million zlotys, is forfeited to the state and they themselves, without lengthy investigations, are marched off to jail. The streets, which until recently were plastered with Solidarity posters exhorting the overthrow of public authority, have suddenly undergone a change. The posters have been replaced with others that call for an end to profiteers and middlemen. And this too, is one of the objectives on the way out of the crisis situation.

8491

CSO: 2400/157

PAY FOR RETIRED PERSONS ADJUSTED

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Feb 82 p 5

[Interview with Dr Jaroslav Peterka, Director of the Social Security Office, by Zdena Stepankova: "Nobody Will Be Cheated."]

[Text] In February an adjustment was made to the incomes of practically all persons living on retirement and social security allowances, effective with the February 1982 payment. Thus extensive activity is now in progress which places a great work load on the Social Security Office in Prague. We asked the director of the Social Security Office, Comrade Dr Jaroslav Peterka, about the progress of this demanding work and about the experience of the staff of the Social Security Office in carrying it out.

[Question] Comrade Director, what's the progress of the work concerning the adjustment of retirement pay adopted by the Presidium of the Federal Assembly in January of this year?

[Answer] The first demanding stage in the adjustment of retirement pay has already been carried out successfully. During the course of it, all retirement payments disbursed by this office were raised by the fixed amount of Ksc 30 and Kcs 40 and by the child support allowance which is disbursed with them. At the same time payments representing the only source of income which until now amounted to Ksc 780 [for the pensioner] (Ksc 1330) [for the pensioner and his family] adjusted to Ksc 880 (Ksc 1500). Similarly some retirement payments to resistance veterans were adjusted to newly established minimums.

In all, nearly two and a quarter million retirement payments have been thus adjusted. The handling of these adjustments required extraordinary work effort on the part of the staff of the Social Security Office because they were carried out while doing other routine work which, especially at the beginning of the year, when new payments are inaugurated, is not negligible. In order to carry out this work, the office had to operate continuously. This was made possible by institution of special work shifts, including Saturday and Sunday work, night work and overtime work. This was true above all where computer technology was used. The second stage of the adjustments process will begin in the next few days.

[Question] What will it deal with?

[Answer] In that stage there will be adjustment mainly to retirement payments which are the sole source of income for the pensioner (his family) and which are less than Ksc 880 (Ksc 1500), and are not recorded as such in the Social Security Office files. These adjustments may be carried out only as a response to an application, which should be submitted with the requisite documentation to the Department of Health and Welfare of the District National Committee (or Municipal National Committee). The first applications are already arriving at the Social Security Office. All applications will gradually be processed. Pensioners should have no fear that they will be somehow shortchanged, the appropriate increases will be retroactive to the February payment. Pensions of resistance veterans will be adjusted in a similar fashion, as will the incomes of some groups of invalids.

[Question] What happens when a pensioner, for one reason or another, does not receive the increased payment? What should he do?

[Answer] With such an extensive undertaking, mistakes can happen. The Social Security Office, in cooperation with the Post Office, is gradually checking all discrepancies. This will be done during February and March. Claims should therefore be filed only in the subsequent months. The requisite adjustment will be implemented retroactively, and the supplementary payment will be remitted. Thus the pensioner will in no way be deprived of his entitlements.

[Question] Are there any misunderstandings on the part of the pensioners which you would like to clarify?

[Answer] Yes, there are. These are the cases where the recipient lives on an income of less than Ksc 880 (Kcs 1500). Some pensioners have erroneously assumed that, if the amount is Kcs 880 (1500), all payments which are being disbursed at the lower amount will be increased. That assumption is not correct.

If the amount is 880 Ksc (Ksc 1500 for a married couple), only those payments can be adjusted which amount to less than the mentioned amount and which are the only source of earnings for the pensioner (his family). That means that the pensioner has no other income or that the sum of his earnings and his payments is less than the stated amount. It is naturally necessary to consider as second income the earnings or retirement pay of the other spouse. That is because, by law, both spouses in a family have mutual support responsibility. It is also necessary to consider as income the income tax deduction from wages which a family member collects on the pensioner (the deduction is allowed for the support of the individual and is not meant for the taxpayer). Further, all other income is considered for this purpose, such as rent, the return from privately-farmed land and writers' honoraria. Not considered as income are only those earnings gained from irregular or occasional work, short-term work (less than 60 days a year) and the wages of individuals more than 70 years old. Also not considered is the child-care allowance given to the pensioner for support of a dependent child, an increase in the invalidism allowance and contributions paid by organizations such as Cultural and Social Fund of Unified Agricultural Cooperative, etc., that is, payments which are disbursed for very specific needs.

[Question] When a pensioner wishes to find out further details concerning his case, to whom should he turn?

[Answer] Should a pensioner have any questions, he should turn to the Department of Health and Welfare of the District National Committee at his place of residence, or to his Municipal National Committee. There he will get a thorough consultation and will learn the steps required to fill out an application for an adjustment of his retirement payment or how to file a claim.

[Question] Thank you for the interview.

9764

CSO: 2400/165

IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL DEFICIENCIES IN FILM INDUSTRY DISCUSSED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Feb 82 p 4

['Culture' feature article by Lothar Bellag, president, Association of Film and Television Specialists: "Congress of Film and Television Specialists in the Fall--Great Tasks for Film and Television in the 1980's: Through New Works Elucidate the Greatness of Our System--Consistently Ask: What is the Contribution of Our Films to the Struggles of Our Times?--The New Generation Needs the Same Cooperation and Coresponsibility." A translation of the 17 Nov 81 NEUES DEUTSCHLAND letter from a reader cited below, accompanied by a West German commentary, is published under the heading, "Sharp Criticism of Film Industry, Television Voiced," In JPRS 79885, 19 Jan 82, No 1962 of this series, pp 10-13]

[Text] The Fourth Congress of the GDR Association of Film and Television Specialists was called for September 1982. This was the decision of the executive board at its meeting in January. The film and television specialists are now discussing which tasks the congress will take up, which questions deserve special attention in the preliminary period.

The work which it accomplished since the Third Congress in 1977 must also be appraised, the balance must be struck as to how the objectives of the 10th SED Congress were met. We will also decide on measures to solidify our association and discuss how its social impact can be heightened.

True to Reality, Not Just Realistic

In his report at the 10th SED Congress Erich Honecker spoke of the fact that a task of socialist-realistic art rests in taking up and answering questions of our time concerning the value of man and his place in society, of freedom and responsibility, of the claim to happiness and the possibilities for realizing it in socialism.

The report goes on to say: "Anyone who accomplished a work of the greatness and beauty of ours, wants to find in literature a source of more profound information about our life with its revolutionary breath, its struggles and conflicts. Out of that he wants to create ideal, moral and philosophical gain in the sense of socialism. For this, not only realistic, but rather artistic creation which is true to reality is required to the fullest extent

of its means of expression." This is also true of the work of the film and television specialists in our country.

The question is asked as to how our film art must be shaped in the theater and on television in the 1980's. Do our films satisfy the demands of the time and the claims which arise out of the struggles of the present? These are vital questions to which answers are expected from us, from our art which is directly tied into the network of mass communication. What can a film artist, a television journalist, a creator of documentaries, a producer of animated films, a science journalist do in active participation in the further development of socialist society in guaranteeing peace?

We see our first task to be in getting involved in the struggles of our time with new works, to work with them for peace, socialism and a meaningful life for men. Under the direction of the working class party, film and television specialists will actively make their contribution to developing the intellectual-cultural conditions for an increase in performance in all sectors of our society.

For Us Art Continues To Be a Weapon

The film artists and film journalists will only do justice to this task if, with their specific means, they contribute to the realization of the main task and make social-human conditions, relations, connections, social processes and expressions of life, which are developed in our socialist society and especially in the working class, into the subject of artistic assimilation.

Now and then we hear that art can have little effect when the decisions are in the economic, political or even military sector. That is not true. For us art is always a weapon. We possess a line of tradition of which we can be proud--the antifascist and antiwar film of the DEFA [German Film Corporation] and GDR television. With these films we were also involved in the fact that we continued to have peace until now.

We continue to ask ourselves the question how we are in a position to penetrate and represent the current dimension of the problems of peace and socialism--which has been with us for almost four decades and will not abandon us in the future.

I mean, we must delve deeper into today's class conflicts, into social questions of life, in order to be able to represent how everyday events and attitudes become significant for existential questions of our time. More consistently, indeed at all costs, we must ask what we and our films are doing in this process of coming to terms. We have learned to represent the basic questions of our time using the example of history. And we will not let up in that; but, more than has been the case to date we must gain access to the direct reality of the international processes of the present.

Mass Effect Use of the Power of Our Arguments

Much remains to be thought over: how the challenge of the imperialist mass media can be effectively met, how we use our reason and power of our arguments against their agitation and hysteria; how the world peace movement has been strengthened in the struggle against the aggressive circles of imperialism; how serious dialogue spreads between those who are in different camps politically and philosophically, but think realistically; how the consciousness of the necessity for an open factual exchange of opinion grows; how the illusionist disproves himself, he who demands of socialism that since its will for peace must be acknowledged it might lay down its arms in order thus to make an impression on the heavily armed enemies of peace.

Not for one minute may we close our eyes to the fact that the mass media of the West have become unrestrained. Konrad Wolf said that that is "the mobilization of emotions as a prerequisite for mobilizing weapons." He brought up for discussion whether our art "in the coming years will assume more and more the function of enlightening, whether making social events more transparent, the transparency of their causes and effects, will take on greater importance." Coming to an understanding on this prior to our association's meeting is the dictate of the hour.

On 17 November 1981 in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND there appeared the letter from a reader, chief mechanic in the Hubert Vater Transportation Works VEB, Erfurt, addressed to the DEFA and television. The questions raised in it are familiar to us and are part of the critical dialogue in the association. The predominant majority of our members, in their efforts for an ideologically effective and emotionally strong film and television art, views itself as strengthened by this critical letter.

Providing Clarity in the Quarrel of Opinions

At the last meeting of the association's executive board this expression of opinion was the focal point of a quarrelsome discussion about the concrete path in the immediate future. The need was present to give a collective response to it and we did so.

The discussion confirmed the dissatisfaction with the status of our own work. Our deliberations, which at present are expressed in the programs of the association, in our journal FILM UND FERNSEHEN and in the studios, concerning the social function and the future of the filmwork for theater and television, confirm this.

Every development process, even that of film and television, has its contradictions and difficulties. This cannot be concealed. Substantial progress was made. Progress in the creation of psychological-realistic films is irrefutable. Without it a number of top films, which had millions of viewers and to a large extent found international recognition, would not be conceivable. Our films must nonetheless be devoted more to the man who works on the key points of the socialist structure.

Our films also show how socialism involves all society and penetrates the life of all people, reaches their world of feelings and consciousness and presents them with moral decisions which correspond to the socialist position. That is a result which should not be taken lightly. Also we do not need to abandon the seriousness with which colleagues in both media devoted themselves to the personality development of women in our society.

Heroes Who Feel Responsible For the Totality

But the present film scene also has its shadowy side. In the artistic shaping there are manifestations of wear and tear in the everyday heroes, who have been discovered since the mid-1970's, a trend toward tranquility in the plot which misses those decisive points in the social life of man which indicate a trial, the growth in performance and consistency in life. The hero who consciously takes on difficulties in order to solve problems not only for himself, but also for others is likewise not widespread. Recently we have seldom succeeded in showing how a comparatively modest everyday figure conveys the breathtaking element, the magnitude and dialectic of our time, how its vision opens up horizons.

The development of film and television art can be accomplished only in intensive consideration of the dialectic of the present and past. A year ago we asked ourselves a question which in respect to its realization is simple, but which is not a simple question: a fourth generation is here; it has just embarked on its path in film and television. At the Fourth Congress we shall ask it for its statement on what it believes it must accomplish.

If we forget that, we would have neglected something serious: to concern ourselves with the continuity of socialist film and television development in the GDR. We would only have remained where we were. We do not have this right. We are obligated to lead our youngest colleagues into the political struggle; for this is a generation that is now learning to help shape society.

The Issue Is Work of a New Quality

It should not be concealed that upon occasion we neglected to demand a great deal of our young colleagues and, clapping them on the shoulder, preferred to certify that half things can also become whole things. Patronage, excessive praise or leading around by the nose were also at play. We must cling to that which Brecht and Dudow demanded of the next generation: equivalent cooperation and coresponsibility.

I believe that the close tie to young colleagues also helps to better understand the present and the social psyche of young people: how art and science are involved in the learning process of youth, what variety of intellectual stimulation codetermines the growth of youth, that the inclination for the discotheque by no means must be the dominant leisure demand, how great the demand is to be stimulated by films into thinking about feelings.

In this, young people scarcely commit themselves to any film type. Certainly there will always be a preference for exciting entertainment, but the demand

for a diverse offering of well made films is undeniable. Onesidedness inevitably results in the loss of impact.

The experiences of the 1970's include the fact that socialist art develops in connection with its social mandate, in the conscious participation in the class struggle, in the artistic struggle for control of the new facts of life.

Comrade Kurt Hager reminded us of the fact that the issue is the quality of the relations to reality, "which is not absorbed in individual experiences and chance events--no matter how important these are--, but rather which includes the entire treasure of historical experience, of social findings and political strategy as it is most finely expressed in the program of our party."

12124

CSO: 2300/166

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHIEF DISCUSSES FORTHCOMING GST CONGRESS' DEFENSE TRAINING GOALS

East Berlin SPORT UND TECHNIK in German Vol 30 No 2, Feb 82 (signed to press 24 Dec 81) pp 6-7

[S & T interview with Lt Gen Guenther Teller, chairman, Central Executive Committee, Society for Sport and Technology (GST), in view of the Seventh GST Congress scheduled for 25-27 June 1982 in Cottbus; date and place of interview not given: "We Are Strengthening the Defensive Power of Our Republic"]

[Text] [Question] Comrade Lieutenant General, can you say at this time what will be discussed at the Seventh Congress?

[Answer] Of course, we have no details yet. In general it may be said that the discussions will revolved around how our socialist defense organization in its future work will be able to serve the commitment set by the 10th SED Congress to promote a higher degree of defense readiness of GDR citizens and perfect their defense capability by purpose-oriented, organized training. The work is to be concentrated on helping to secure the peace by a perceivable increase in performance in all aspects of GST activities and thus contributing to the further strengthening of the GDR defensive power and the protection of socialism.

It is therefore an issue of higher quality and efficiency of premilitary training so that the future soldiers, noncommissioned officers and commissioned officers receive an optimal preparatory training on a wide basis at the highest uniform standard possible for their service of honor in the National People's Army and will thus be up to the requirements of this service in the 1980's.

It is also a question of widening the basis and increasing the efficiency in defense sports activities by means of which many young and adult citizens of this country acquire a sound knowledge and skills benefiting the country's defense. A justification of the GST work throughout the past 5 years to be submitted to the Seventh Congress will show that our socialist defense organization has a sound foundation for its upcoming future. This certainty is corroborated by the successful course which the election meetings and delegate conferences held by the sections and basic organizations have taken thus far.

[Question] You said that the preliminary training must be improved even further. In your opinion, Comrade Lieutenant General, what should and can any young man himself do to prepare for his military service or his career in the military?

[Answer] The most important aspect is and remains his conviction of the necessity to defend our socialist mother country, combined with the willingness to give his very best for it and prove himself in the National People's Army or the GDR border troops at all times. It has been proven that this attitude is strengthened both by the defensive training in school, active cooperation in the Free German Youth, and participation in the GST defense sports.

Whoever actively participates in one of the defense sports lays the groundwork for the subsequent premilitary training. Experience shows that it also facilitates the decision on a certain career in the National People's Army. Every young conscript, and particularly every future National People's Army specialist is well advised to utilize premilitary training intensively so that he may acquire a sound political and special knowledge as well as a high degree of physical fitness. It is just as important, of course, to consciously exercise discipline and adjustment to the respective collective. Everyone who participates in the premilitary training should also know that the fight for the GST First Place Medal is a rewarding one. Those who succeed in attaining it are particularly well prepared for service in the army.

As far as future noncommissioned and commissioned career officers are concerned, premilitary training will provide initial important experience for their future careers through their function as a group leader, deputy platoon leader, or any other function. This period of proving themselves and their entire active involvement in the Free German Youth applicant collectives also contribute to strengthening their decision to pursue a career in the military.

[Question] Even now many National People's Army reservists are active and proven GST activists, although their number could be even higher. Is there an activity for everyone who wishes to participate which corresponds to his interests and capabilities?

[Answer] If our socialist defense organization submits sound proof of its work at the Seventh Congress, this is largely due to the untiring and deserving activities of many thousands of reservists as party officials, trainers, or GST training supervisors. The knowledge and skills of these comrades and the experience gathered by them in the service are, as has been shown, of great value to the fulfillment of our organization's tasks. Therefore we find it very important that many more reservists will resolve to participate in such GST activities. There is certainly no lack of opportunities to cooperate according to certain interests and skills.

I am also referring to the defense sports which are specifically created so that many reservists can do something to maintain their defensive power. Anyone who is interested in being able to shoot accurately and maintain their physical fitness can and should participate. Those reservists who wish to stay on top of their special knowledge and skills will certainly find a

a corresponding GST sport and will actively participate in it. In short, GST provides manifold opportunities for all reservists, unless already active in other areas of this country's defense, to meet their responsibility to protect socialism.

[Question] In the elections taking place this week in the sections and basic organizations numerous young comrades will be entrusted with responsible functions in the command sections and boards. Comrade Lieutenant General, what would be your advice to these young officials who for the first time will have to master supervisory tasks in our organization?

[Answer] I may say that we will be very glad if these elections will permit that we will have a good mix of experienced officials and young comrades in the command sections and boards. This fully complies with the proven principle of giving young people responsibility.

The young command section and board members who will soon be elected are well advised if they consistently work in the interest of the successful work of their collectives and seek the advice of experienced older officials in fulfilling the tasks entrusted to them. They should always be guided by the principle that their actions will decide how fast and surely the premilitary training and defense sports and the organizational strengthening of their collectives will proceed. Particularly the comrades of the same age in the training units and sections will look to them, which obligates them to set an example with a clear, class-oriented attitude and proper, responsible work. I am convinced that in this sense the many new young officials of our organization will fully justify the confidence placed in them.

[Question] It is a good tradition to prepare highlights of the social life of our country and our organization--as the Seventh Congress will be--with outstanding performances. What should the comrades in the sections and basic organizations concentrate on?

[Answer] The answer to this question is actually contained in the many thousands of declarations which were passed at the campaign rallies and delegate conferences. In these declarations the comrades confirmed their resolution to fulfill the task of the 1981/82 training year completely and with the best results. They wish to contribute to the further strengthening of the GDR defensive power through successful work in premilitary training and high performance in defense sports, thus combining commitment to and activity for the politics of the working class party and our socialist country.

Fully complying with the purpose of adequately preparing the Seventh Congress, the combat power of our entire socialist defense organization will be strengthened by a further strengthening of all collectives, the entry of many new members, by the GST members expressing their internationalistic attitude through active solidarity which now helps the Polish people, and will permit the construction of modern ranges for the development and promotion of the shooting sport in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam.

The comrades in the sections and basic organizations will also want to contribute to the success of this year's "week of fraternity in arms" by various political and sports defense activities, thus demonstrating their close commitment to the National People's Army and the Soviet Army. The many good intentions in preparation of the Seventh Congress justify our certainty that the active and responsible GST members will prove worthy of the working class party's trust as socialist patriots and internationalists, as true friends of the Soviet Union, as steadfast defenders of socialism and peace in compliance with the slogan of our socialist competition, "Direction Seventh Congress--With Initiative and Energy for the Fulfillment of the Resolutions of the Tenth Party Congress."

9544

CSO: 2300/163

TRAINING WITH ANTITANK ROCKET LAUNCHER DETAILED

East Berlin AR--ARMEE-RUNDSCHAU in German No 1, Jan 82 (signed to press 3 Nov 81) pp 30-33

[Article by Capt Ulrich Fink: "Rockets Out of the Container: Two Shots, Two Hits"]

[Text] "Get off, get into position!" This command releases the three comrades' tension. One of them grasps the canvas-covered box. The other two each take a cylindrical container approximately one meter in length. Down from the armored personnel carrier. It is not easy to find suitable cover right away. Get down. And up again. Some 30 m ahead a hole in the sand. That is just right. Soldier Bittner is the first to have the machine gun in firing position. As a second gunner he has to secure the setting up of the antitank rocket launcher (PALS) system.

The hole in the ground makes for good cover. Singer, a noncommissioned officer and the aiming gunner, finds, "I can see across the entire combat field." He carefully lowers the device weighing more than 20 kg onto the edge of the position and removes the canvas cover with ease. The support beams provide a sound base of the launching device on the sandy ground. Almost simultaneously soldier Wuestneck places the rocket container on a sliding carriage for firing. Within a few seconds the noncommissioned officer has aligned the optics on one of the approaching tank silhouettes.

"Crew ready for firing!"

The company commander is satisfied that the standard times were complied with. He can rely on Jochen Singer, noncommissioned officer in his third half-year of service, and his crew. So far their performance has been outstanding. Now they can hardly wait to prove their training status on the range. Comrade Singer carries the Grade III Classification Medal of the artillery and the chemical service. He has also earned the sports medal. And recently he passed the test required to obtain the "good knowledge" medal in gold. Last year he placed first in training.

During the past weeks and months he and the two soldiers practiced every move required to handle the modern weapons system entrusted to them innumerable times. Today, during combat firing of this part of the troops, the three

comrades wish to prove that they are capable of effectively and accurately utilizing their weapon. They intend to destroy the target with the first rocket.

Thumb, middle and index fingers of the right hand of the aiming gunner lie calmly on the control wheel. Upon firing, when the rocket has left the container, he will use it to keep the cross hairs of the sight constantly on target, i.e. to cover it. Thus the rocket will always go in the desired direction, controlled by the command computer's signals.

The company commander had given the instruction, "Shoot only on my command!" The tank mockups come closer and closer. Don't get nervous, the most favorable firing range has not been reached. The seconds seem like hours. The recommendation of an umpire nearby to finally open fire was, however, rejected by the noncommissioned officer by replying, "My company will give the command."

Then comes the firing command. The rocket bursts from the container. A small powder gas cloud marks the firing. A detonation way ahead. "Hit!" The umpire takes the binoculars from his eyes. The one word implies recognition.

Hardly has the first rocket reached its target, then the gun is reloaded. Soldier Wuestneck has mastered every move. That's a must! The potential firing speed of this weapons system is three firings per minute. If you want to achieve that, the container with the rocket must click into place upon initial placement on the carriage. The first gunner again does an outstanding job.

Noncommissioned officer and aiming gunner Singer is assigned a second target. He has to reposition the optics and does it fast, but without haste. The second rocket is a hit as well!

The PALR crew comprised of noncommissioned officer Singer and soldiers Wuestneck and Bittner of the first antitank battalion has passed its crucial test. Intensive training was the key to success. They reached the goal which they had aimed at. Two rockets--two hits.

This result does not only convince the aiming gunner and his two gunners of their weapon's potential, but is also demonstrates the extraordinary effectiveness of this modern antitank rocket launcher system in a striking manner.

9544

CSO: 2300/160

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

EXPERIENCES OF EMERGENCY MEDICAL AID ORGANS CITED

East Berlin ZEITSCHRIFT FUER MILITAERMEDIZIN in German Vol 22 No 6, Dec 81
(signed to press 24 Jul 81) pp 277-279

[Text of talk given by Prof K. Scheidler, MD, at the joint session of the Rostock Regional Society and the Section for Medical Service Organization and Tactics, GDR Society for Military Medicine, in Greifswald, 30 May 80: "The Deployment of Urgent Medical Aid (DMH) in the Rapid Medical Air (SMH) System in Berlin and the Experiences Gained Therefrom"]

[Text] The Berlin Rescue System has a long tradition. The Rescue Office, founded in 1919, has developed into a technically organized installation which became effective in many different ways above all through the central control of the bed availability register, patient transportation, and the medical alert service. Using the lessons learned in the past, it was possible, under the new social conditions after World War II, soon to start the gradual buildup of a medical emergency supply system.

The control and field stations can be reached at any time via a standard call number (115) (Figure 1). They can employ and manage the DHD [Urgent House Call Service] and the DMH [Urgent Medical Aid] teams by means of direct wire and radio communications in keeping with requirements. A system of Urgent Medical Aid became operational in three city boroughs already in 1965. In 1969, the Rescue Office assumed overall control over a general and special emergency service which was an improved version of the somewhat older medical alert service and which later on was renamed DHD or DKHD [Urgent Pediatrician House Call Service] (Figure 2).

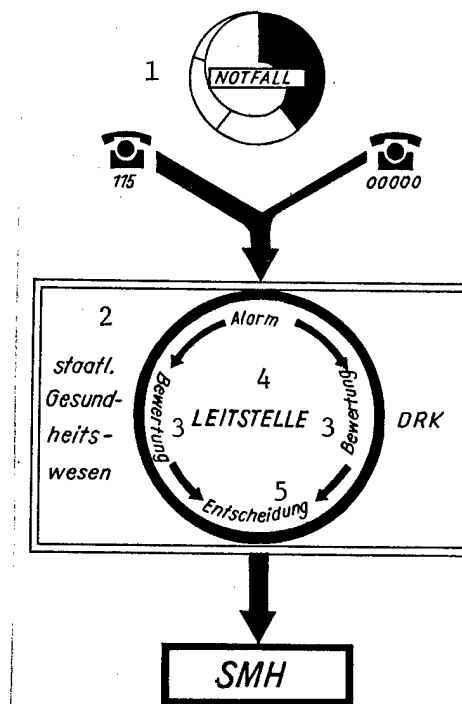


Figure 1. Control station can be reached quickly via public telephone network. Key: 1--Emergency; 2--Government health system; 3--Analysis; 4--Control station; 5--Decision; DRK--German Red Cross.

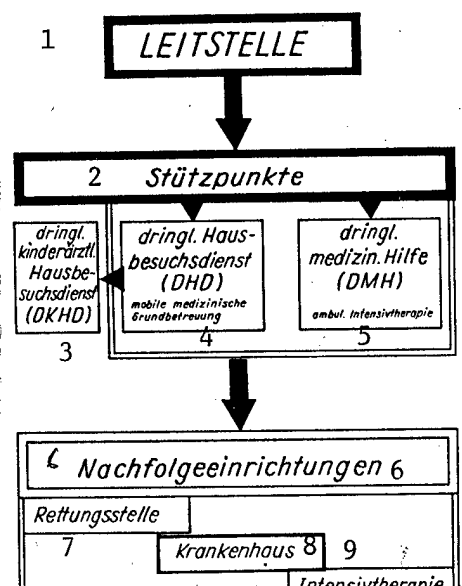


Figure 2. Fast Medical Aid System. Key: 1--Control station; 2--Bases; 3--Emergency pediatrician house call service (DKHD); 4--Emergency house call service (DHD), basic mobile medical care; 5--Urgent Medical Aid (DMH), ambulatory intensive therapy; 6--Follow-up installations; 7--Rescue station; 8--Hospital; 9--Intensive therapy.

At this time, the capital has four DMH, nine DHD, four DKHD bases and seven rescue stations within the SMH (Fast Medical Aid) system to provide timely necessary medical assistance (Figure 3).

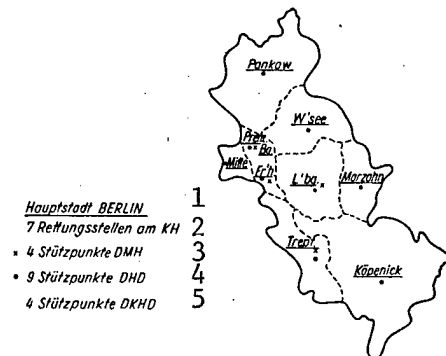


Figure 3. Sketch showing SMH layout in GDR capital. Key: 1--Berlin, the capital; 2--Seven rescue stations at KH [hospital]; 3--Four DMH bases; 4--Nine DHD bases; 5--Four DKHD bases.

Directive No. 2 concerning the buildup of Fast Medical Aid, dated 12 June 1979, including the General Regulations for management, organization, and planning of SMH, obligates all bezirks in the GDR gradually to establish and develop the SMH which will essentially be introduced by 1985 in all kreises of the republic. Long-term experience with the efficiently organized medical-complex emergency service in the capital of the GDR made it possible to develop ideas which can also be useful to other territorial areas. Stationary aid provided by rescue stations is an important link in guaranteeing the fastest possible effective medical emergency supply. Here again, the Berlin tradition was continued after World War II and rescue stations, accessible at all times, were again being set up at seven hospitals. The record of services provided is quite considerable. In 1970, 94,700 citizens were taken care of by the rescue stations; in 1975, the figure had gone up to 104,400. In general, there is an impression that primary first aid supplied by rescue stations assumes growing significance. The citizens themselves decide more and more frequently which type of emergency aid is best in a specific case. For example, the DHD is summoned mostly to take care of emergency patients who in most cases suffer ailments of the internal organs while the rescue stations above all take care of emergency patients in need of surgery. Under no circumstances are mobile and stationary emergency aid to be considered as competing methods. Both forms complement each other advantageously. Let us explain this with the help of the example of providing care for infants. A pediatrician at a rescue station equipped with a laboratory and other diagnostic aids undoubtedly is in a better position to perform his functions. On the other hand, additional viewpoints must be taken into consideration to clear up cases involving fever which during the evening hours constitute the most frequent causes for emergency calls. Working mothers often find it difficult to visit a rescue station, which is unfavorably located as far as they are concerned, during the evening and early night-time hours. This is why certain social viewpoints, just as various differing ways of behavior, must be included in the calculations concerning the differentiated use of medical emergency aid.

The dimensioning of the various forms of emergency service is an essential problem anyway. On the basis of domestic and international experiences, 200 requirements were given in Berlin for 1,000 inhabitants per year, using the broad emergency concept (Budapest, 1974) as basis for planning. The results with the SMH in Berlin (Figure 4) but also those from other cities prove that these numbers are entirely realistic (Table 1).

Table 1. "SMH" Requirements Per 10^3 E [Inhabitants], 1977

Versorgungs- bereich	1	DHD	DMH	2	Rettungs- stellen
BERLIN		88,6	13,6		104,4 (1975)
COTTBUS		81,1	11,0		●
KARL-MARX-STADT		73,4	12,7		●
LEIPZIG		95,5	10,0		●
MAGDEBURG		67,3	7,3		●
Erfahrungs- Richtwert	3	90,0	10,0		100,0

Key: 1--Supply area; 2--Rescue stations; 3--Empirical standards.

The economical employment of available material assets and manpower calls for a concentration on emergency supply areas with a population of at least 100,000-150,000, as demonstrated with the help of the organization of the DMH and the DHD in the Gera area.

The callup requirement for doctors to assist in medical emergency situations necessitates further considerations. The highest goal of a well-organized rescue service is the guarantee of optimum assistance in acute medical emergency situations. It is not without justification that the opinion of the citizens concerning the socialist health system is determined to a great extent by how quickly and how effectively assistance is provided in medical emergency situations.

The need for SMH and rescue station services is subjected to many different factors. First of all, it is necessary to counteract the existing tendencies on the part of some doctors to shift normal obligations concerning house calls to the emergency service. Service calls during the morning hours, according to the statistics, appear to be much more numerous not only in Berlin but also in other bezirks than could be justified in objective terms. In Berlin, therefore, the introduction of the 24-hour emergency service was paralleled by measures designed to stimulate the performance of routine house call activities. On the other hand however it is also necessary to introduce regulations to be able to cope with an unjustified

request for emergency service. This includes the denial of certain expectations which generally are connected with care given by a doctor. The method of not making out any prescriptions--other than in special situations, such as during flu epidemics--proved to be effective. The patients only get stopgap therapy with medications that are brought along and for further needs they are referred to regular medical care. Besides, emergency physicians do not make out any work disability certificates. Such measures also take into account the legal aspects because the family physician must often be called upon to keep tabs on the course of the illness as such. After the introduction of this regulation it was possible to observe that the calls for emergency service declined by almost 20 percent in spite of their extension to 24 hours.

Some remarks are necessary regarding DMH assistance calls in the Berlin area. The bar graph for 1969-1978 DMH service requests (Figure 4) shows that the number of missions almost doubled. This introduces the multifaceted problem of the ratio between quantity and quality.

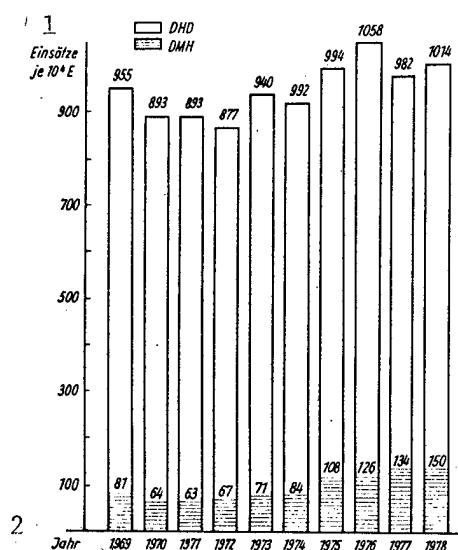


Figure 4. DMH and DHD missions per 10,000 inhabitants per year (Berlin).
Key: 1--Missions per 10^4 inhabitants; 2--Year.

Based on general agreement, the term DMH means preclinical intensive therapy where life-saving methods are used as early as possible at the scene of the event and during transportation. The difficulty in assigning teams to missions correctly in keeping with the indications (Table 2) consists in the fact that even a seasoned dispatcher, in the light of our experience, cannot be in a position to make justified decisions on the basis of frequently vague data coming from an emergency call. One must use certain rules of thumb; for example, heart attacks in men over 40 and in women over 50 must be considered grounds for suspicion of heart infarct and the DMH must therefore be sent into action. Discussions spring up again and again with doctors both in the DHD and in the DKHD as well as with the DMH on the question of the determination of indications. To assure a high degree of safety, the indication must not be established too tightly for the

employment of DMH and DHD. On the other hand, one must counteract certain existing inclinations on the part of individual dispatchers to employ DMH in an entirely too broad fashion.

Table 2. Indication for SMH Employment

Direct threat to life,
Danger of lasting bodily damage,
Required fast pain alleviation,
Behavior disturbances (for the protection of groups).

This problem complex last but not least touches on the really decisive point: the attitude of medical staff members who must implement the requirement for optimum emergency aid. Emergency supply in the GDR deliberately refrains from using full-time emergency physicians, except for some government management functions. This solution on the one hand offers the advantage that the doctors as a rule remain familiar with the many aspects of intensive medicine by virtue of their daily work in out-patient or in-patient care. On the other hand, additional activity in the context of SMH, at any time of day or night, calls for a high level of discipline and extraordinary action readiness and thus a great effort in terms of persuasion and indoctrination. Some doctors try not to participate in emergency service, citing various reasons. Some switched to the out-patient sector precisely in order to avoid the obligations connected with the standby alert service. In addition to convenience or family considerations, there are entirely understandable reasons for that, for example, the fear that the individual might not be up to the requirements of emergency service in terms of his own knowledge and ability.

The advanced education of doctors therefore is a very important task. The increasing trend toward specialization, resulting from concentration on subproblems in individual disciplines and in medicine as a whole, means that doctors are on many issues no longer sufficiently available to be able to meet the requirements of emergency service provided by a physician. For example, not every specialist in general medicine feels that he is able to provide care for bleeding injuries and fractures. Effective measures for the prevention and control of threatening shock are still taken too rarely. The number of patients who are delivered to the hospital with on-going i.v.'s is definitely too small.

A central training facility was created in Berlin with the possibility of practicing on dummies, with simultaneous theoretical advanced training; the results are already visible. But work at rescue stations proved to be a good opportunity for advanced training. There are employment possibilities here for doctors who are not suitable for assignment to mobile emergency duty for reasons of health and for technical considerations likewise. In close cooperation with the hospital physicians on duty, especially the internists, surgeons, and anesthesists, they can acquire the missing knowledge and they can get training; later on they can effectively be integrated into the emergency care system.

The doctors assigned to DMH must meet special requirements in terms of their qualifications. It is irresponsible to allow doctors, who do not have a mastery of the necessary techniques and who do not have correspondingly broad experience, to

provide emergency assistance in this specialized form. For duty with DMH, it is necessary to require the individual to be an anesthetist; but that cannot be done in practice because the number of anesthetists is far too small to meet the obligations in the clinics and in DMH equally.

This is why surgeons and internists from emergency and intensive-medical sectors were from the very beginning employed in DMH in Berlin. Over the years, it has been possible to develop a cadre of doctors who have acquired extensive experience also in the marginal areas of their field. Constant participation in emergency care is necessary to enable the physician to cope with current tasks through past experience and through a constant learning process. At this point we might note that, according to experience in Berlin, optimum emergency care can be achieved only if the measures, initiated at the scene of the event and during transportation, are smoothly continued in the hospital. The ZRI (Central Rescue and Intensive Therapy Department) at the Friedrichshain Hospital passes its test daily. Through the multidisciplinary cooperation of various specialized fields, it is possible here to provide services which could not be administered without such a form of organization. The rescue station of the Friedrichshain Hospital fits into the territorial network of the other rescue stations. Cooperation among rescue stations, reciprocal exchange of information, as well as the acceptance of patients facilitates highly-specialized care under all circumstances. If necessary, this can also be done in such a way that an operating team is dispatched from the hospital to the corresponding installation for special care to be given to patients after serious cerebro-cranial traumas or vascular injuries.

The lessons learned in Berlin show that it takes manifold technical but also political-educational efforts to be able--through the involvement of the SMH--to meet the requirement addressed to the health system, that is to say, to make the achievements of medicine available to all citizens in a comprehensive manner and at all times.

5058

CSO: 2300/191

DEFENSE MINISTER CALLS UPON YOUTH TO REPORT FOR MILITARY SERVICE

Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 6 Mar 82 p 21

[Article: "The Defense Ministry Competition"]

[Text] The Defense Ministry invites all applicants or full-time day students at selected postsecondary institutions, who wish to pursue careers as permanent officers in the Hungarian People's Army upon completion of their university studies, to submit their applications.

The following are required for application: Hungarian citizenship, unrepachable past record, moral and political reliability, physical fitness for professional military service, single marital status, age of no more than 23 years. Students or applicants at the following postsecondary institutions are eligible to apply for the army scholarship.

Budapest Polytechnic University:

--mechanical engineering, sanitary engineering, and engineering industry technology majors;

--electrical engineering, telecommunications, broadcasting, data publications, and control engineering majors;

--traffic engineering, vehicle and automobile mechanics majors;

--architecture, design engineering and surveying majors.

The Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences:

--natural science, cartography and meteorology majors.

The arts and science universities:

--political science and law students, natural science, programming mathematics, and physics majors.

Medical universities:

--general medical and dental students.

Karl Marx College of Economics:

--general economics, planned economics and finance majors.

Traffic and Telecommunications Engineering Academy:

--bridge construction and maintenance, road construction and maintenance majors.

Mihaly Pollack Engineering and Miklos Ybl Construction Engineering College:

--architectural and civil engineering majors, as well as sanitary and building engineering majors.

School of Forestry and Wood Industry:

--surveying and land allocation majors.

During the school year, technical training, and basic military training, the recipients of army scholarships will receive monthly student grants. While studying, they will be under the command of the Frigyes Karikas Military Academy. Upon request, those studying in Budapest may receive room and board in place of compensation.

Upon completion of their third year or brief military training, scholarship recipients at universities are awarded the rank of ensign and receive army academy student status. After completing their studies, they become members of the permanent staff and are awarded the rank of officer.

Army scholars at colleges participate in brief basic training after passing the state exam, and afterwards receive officer rank. They are appointed or begin their career posts on the basis of their achievement and training.

Entrants may obtain application forms at their local recruitment and defense headquarters (in Budapest, at the capital recruitment headquarters).

The deadline for application is anytime for current students, regardless of the school year; for university applicants, the deadline is 31 March.

9890

CSO: 2500/161

COMMANDER OUTLINES ACTIVITIES OF TECHNICAL MILITARY ACADEMY

Warsaw KURIER POLSKI in Polish 10 Feb 82 p 3

[Interview with Maj Gen (Docent) Aleksander Grabowski, Commander of WAT
[Technical Military Academy; date and place not specified]

[Text] The catchword 'laser' makes us think of modern technology in the service of the economy and science. But probably few people remember when that word earned the full right to be included in the Polish language...

It was in 1963 that the world learned from PAP tapes that a group of WAT scientists placed the first gas laser in Poland into operation, and in that very same year the ruby laser came into being at the WAT. These two news items were signal that the Warsaw military school had begun the research offensive.

A KURIER POLSKI reporter discusses with Maj Gen (Docent, Doctor, Engineer) Aleksander Grabowski the accomplishments of the scientists in uniform and their meaning for the national economy.

[Question] General, last year the school which you direct celebrated its 30th anniversary...

[Answer] The WAT was created by the Sejm act of 22 March 1951 and was officially opened on 18 December 1951. The creation of the school was supposed to--and did solve the problem of training engineering cadres and of preparing scientists in the military technology field; further expansion of the armed forces required modern armaments and technical equipment. Didactic problems were the center of attention. In the beginning most cadres consisted of young officers, graduates of civilian schools, engineers unacquainted with military hardware. In this situation, Soviet specialists were of invaluable aid. Many well-known Polish professors were also involved, including Professors Janusz Groszkowski, Witold Pogorzelski, Tadeusz Pelczynski, Stefan Ziemia, Kornel Wesolowski, Dioniz Smolenski, Jerzy Gierula and Tadeusz Ubranski. These are the people who actually directed the development of WAT's young cadres, the first masters work and who sponsored the first doctors. Such were the beginnings.

Today the Academy conducts masters studies, graduate studies for graduates of the higher military schools, graduate correspondence studies, post-graduate studies and courses, and doctoral studies. Armies of the socialist countries also take advantage of our masters and doctorate studies. WAT's departments have the right to confer the degree of doctor and doctor habilitatus of the technical, physical, chemical and military sciences. Our graduates will be professionally active in the 21st century, and each year will produce an enormous flow of scientific and technical information, especially a vast expansion in military technology. A WAT graduate must have somewhat different preparation than a colleague graduating from a civilian polytechnic. In the initial phase of studies, all our students are already acquainted with the basics of computer technology, and during the later years of studies they become acquainted with computer applications by solving concrete technical problems. We place a great deal of emphasis on initiative and self-reliance.

Scientific-research activities are conducted along with didactic-training tasks. The school conducts basic and applied research concerning the development of military technology.

[Question] I understand, General, that this theme, for obvious reasons, will be incidental to the interview, but, broadly speaking, solutions originating at the WAT are of definite importance to the national economy. Lasers are the standard example, if one can say so, that is theoretically well known among the uninitiated.

[Answer] Of course. We developed laser technology applications for range-finders, surgical devices, vertical plumbs for construction as well as mining work, geodetic equipment and equipment to control work machines. As an example let us consider what I called surgical devices--a laser coagulator and laser scaple. The coagulator is of no small importance in ophthalmology because with its help one can join an eye reticle to an eye lens. In other words, it can be used in certain cases to save eyesight. This type device is in operation in many hospitals and is highly valued by the professionals. Introduced in 1965, the use of the coagulator was one of the first in the world. They are being constantly improved and, one can say, are getting better and better. However, the laser scaple is not used on a large scale and remains an experimental device.

Laser devices are also working out well in the mining industry. They are used to lay out straight lines which are used to guide mining machines. Because of this a heading can be dug with great accuracy, an accuracy which is of great significance when a hole is bored from two sides simultaneously; the crews drilling the hole must meet. Modifications of this device are used in geodesy. But that is not all. Several years ago shipyard workers developed a unique method to assemble the two parts of the hull of a large ship. Centering had to be done to an accuracy measured in millimeters. The whole thing was actually done with a laser. To end this discussion of lasers, it should be remembered that we initiated this technology in Poland and in this field we are not the worst.

I have the impression that the laser is only a well-known word, and that most people know only superficially what lies behind it. With regard to this, I will cite another example, the so-called optimal-slide braking system. We developed it for the Fiat 125p and the Polonez. Separately, braking each of the automobile wheels, is controlled by an electronic system. It prevents wheel lockups, and at each instant and for each wheel it provides the optimum degree of braking. Speaking figuratively, with complete confidence one can brake even 'accidentally,' even when the right side of the automobile is on concrete and the left side on ice. Without using electronics, in all probability such an operation would end up in a crash. An automobile equipped with our device simply begins to apply the brake. Last year we equipped 10 automobiles this way. They are under testing.

Speaking of electronics, in 1980 we won a gold medal at the Poznan Fair. It was awarded for our automatic telephone exchange. It has 200 numbers and can operate, for example, in a larger industrial plant. It is now in production. We also developed a telephone exchange dispatcher, portable equipment in a container. It permits a number of operations and is ideal for the mining industry and large building sites. We are completing the development of an automatic exchange for buildings. We also have in the works electronic equipment to locate buried miners. It is now in production.

Now, a couple of words about WATEX. Of course, the name is derived from WAT. It is an explosive material in semi-liquid form. However, it is safer to use and transport than, for example, dynamite and ammonite [amonity] used to date. In addition, it is cheap to produce and is produced from domestic raw materials. In short, it is the ideal peaceful--as I call it--explosive material. What is more, our industry had a strong disposition to purchase an American license from Du Pont. However, we made do without a subsequent purchase under license; a semi-technical production line is already in operation.

[Question] In the civilian world it has been accepted that if one is unfortunate enough to become ill then one is fortunate to be placed in a military hospital, and in a truly complicated technical situation it is best to seek shelter under the military wing.

[Answer] I will pass without comment on what you said. I understand, however, that the question concerns the contribution of military scientists to the economy in specific situations. For example there is the Bizon, a combine harvester which at one time had an exceptionally poor hydraulic system. We fixed it. The Autosan bus at one time had a body that was inconsistent with aerodynamic principles. Therefore, we developed a new shape. We are collaborating with the factory producing this bus on a permanent basis. Another example of such activity is the expert work we performed after the explosion at Warsaw's rotunda. Several days ago we investigated the ice near Plock using infrared techniques. Over a distance of 32 km we defined the area where thick layers of ice are located. I emphasize that those are only examples.

[Question] And if I were to ask, General, about the influence of military technical ideas on civilian science...

[Answer] Then I would cite the work of Col Prof Stanislaw Kocanda concerning metal fatigue and thus the safety of flight, trips and work near machines and the proper use of these machines. These are basic matters, and the professor's book is of outright fundamental meaning. It is the theoretical foundation for those concerned with the design and operation of different kinds of equipment. It was translated into English, Russian and Japanese. One finds more and more frequently articles by WAT scientists in specialist periodicals published abroad. This is proof of their excellence. We have about 500 Polish and foreign patents. We collaborate with the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] and scientific schools and institutions in Poland and the USSR.

[Question] You spoke about technical matters. For many readers they are problems that are very distant and difficult. Would it be possible via the columns of KURIER POLSKI to draw some of them nearer, to go into the WAT with an objective lens and notebook, to describe, for example, how several hundred pages of text can be recorded on a small disk...

[Answer] Of course. We welcome you.

11,899

CSO: 2600/389

POLAND

SHORTAGE OF TEACHERS DISCUSSED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 4 Mar 82 p 6

[Article: "Where Shall We Get the Schoolteachers?"]

[Text/ (P) /Our Own Information/ /in boldface/. We have in our country employed in the schools, as well as places for monitoring-tutors /teachers' aides/ of various types, more than 425,000 teachers and tutors (as of December of last year, the exact total was 425,696). According to the Cadre Department of the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, half a million employees are needed in order for the schools to be able to operate without difficulties and with an equitable distribution of personnel. Forecasts of the Institute for Teacher Training state that prior to the year 1990 we must employ a further 180,000 teachers for the schools as well as 46,000 tutors for pre-school institutions.

In the short run, the new Teacher's Charter deepens this impasse still further. By virtue alone of reducing a teacher's teaching load to 22 hours a week, i.e., by 13 percent, an increased demand has occurred for 55,000 teachers. This problem will be exacerbated still more by the fact that, beginning in September 1983, the teaching load will be reduced, as guaranteed by the Charter, to 18 hours, and, beginning in January 1984, the obligatory right will be introduced whereby a teacher may retire on a pension after 30 years of work, including 20 years of pedagogical work. At present under this provision we "lose" 2,000 teachers a year; within two years 7,000 teachers will be retiring on a pension.

Also influential on the increased need for teachers are the following factors: tutors' leaves of absence, reduction in the number of pupils per class to 25 (the smaller the classes, the more classes are required, and this entails a need for more teachers), as well as the unique kind of gradual break-up of the structure of the gmina school system. For various reasons, of which not the most insignificant are transportation difficulties, there has been a reactivation of the branches of consolidated schools, while further sections have been added to those which are already in existence. This also entails the necessity of finding new teachers.

According to the Ministry's calculations, in order to cope with the growing need for educational personnel, we need to train 18,000 teachers a year. Meanwhile, during the 1982--1983 school year we will have only about 9,000 graduates of higher pedagogical schools, university teaching programs, and other institutions of higher learning, such as, for example, academies of physical education, music,

and the fine arts. Of the number of 180,000 teachers who will need to be employed prior to the year 1990, only 30 percent, as forecast by the Institute for Teacher Training, will be graduates of daytime programs of higher studies. As a further misfortune, the Ministry of Education has observed a tendency at many educational institutions to eliminate methods courses or even entire teaching programs.

A disturbing reality of the last few years has been the refusal to undertake work in education by approximately one-fourth of the graduates, potential teachers. One may cite several reasons for this non-popularity of the teaching profession, which is helped by the Teacher's Charter itself.

In the first place--the lack of housing. Already today the needs of rural teachers are estimated at 35,000 housing units. This fact is most efficacious in deterring people from working in rural education. Another deterring factor which causes many graduates not to undertake work in this field and others to leave the profession has been the low salaries in the school system. The Teacher's Charter guarantees that they will be raised to the average level for engineers and technicians. An entire system of material incentives has likewise been worked out. Beginning on 1 September 1983, teachers working in a rural area will be paid a special supplement. They will be granted housing and living-expense credits. A low retirement age with pension or modest-sized hourly teaching loads could also be a certain form of incentive.

While all these undertakings are approaching fruition, however, during the current school year among the 29,000 newly employed teachers as many as 14,000, or almost half, are lacking sufficient training to practice their profession. They are predominantly graduates of general high schools. In the course of the last two years altogether some 22,000 of such teachers have been employed. They, of course, cannot teach at secondary schools but rather classes of elementary instruction and pre-school institutions; nor are they left on their own without supervision. They have an obligation to undergo further training and to improve their qualifications in higher teacher-training programs. The Ministry of Education realizes full well that this is an action done out of necessity, but such patch-work is still better than closing down schools to pupils "because of a lack of incentives to work."

2384

CSO: 2600/384

NEGLIGENCE IN SAFEKEEPING OF ENTERPRISE DOCUMENTS DEPLORED

Bucharest INFORMATIA BUCURESTIULUI in Romanian 15 Mar 82 pp 1, 4

[Article by Sorin Holban: "Responsibility--A 'Key' Which Is Sometimes Missing in the Keeping of State Secrets"]

[Excerpts] Law No 23/1971 on protecting state secrets in the Socialist Republic of Romania is clear: "The heads of socialist organizations will ensure continuing control over the keeping and handling of documents which are state secrets." The same obligations are incumbent upon these managers in regard to the preservation of job secrets, that is, information, data or documents which--although they do not constitute state secrets--are not intended for publication and, therefore, cannot be divulged.

We are presenting this explanation because--during an investigation which we made with officers of the Bucharest Municipality Inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior--we came across cases of flagrant disrespect for the law, of lack of knowledge of (or violation of) basic obligations of ensuring the integrity of job secrets and of the security of the enterprise. These cases were evident as soon as we entered the respective units. But let us look at the facts:

We had worthless identification cards, prepared for the occasion, bearing the heading "Publicom", an advertising enterprise which has as much to do with the inspection of a unit as a bus ticket does. In addition, the "personal" identification was so obviously "fabricated" that attention would be drawn to it immediately. It did not have my photograph and my name, written in black and white, was Mihai Viteazu. [Michael the Brave, 16th century lord of Wallachia, Transylvania and Moldavia].

Thus "armed", I went to the ventilator enterprise at 1800 hours in the evening I showed my identification to the door keeper, telling him, short and sweet: "inspection". Sufficient "documentation" to be invited into the enterprise. But there was also a duty officer there, Gheorghe Farcuta, inspector in the department of personnel who--one would think--because of his job, would know how to distinguish an authentic document from a falsified one. I did not have any reason to be "worried". He glanced at the "documents" and told us to wait "a minute" in the enterprise yard. Instead of waiting in the yard, we went, slowly, into a work area, where, later, the duty officer also appeared.

"Come in", he said like an amicable host and we walked through several sections. Finally, in the office of some foremen, I asked him, pointing to my companion:

--Do you remember where this comrade comes from?

--Of course, the duty officer responds. From "PUBLICICOM". (Not the precise rendition of the name.)

--And what is this "Publicicom", Comrade Farcuta?

--What it should be!! he said, astonished at my insistence. An inspection body!

We repeat: all this was said to us, with serenity, by the duty officer, whose functions include, especially, the ensuring of the security of the enterprise! What does this person know about and how does he apply a law of such great importance? Who has "instructed" him so "thoroughly"? It is hard to say.

Nothing can justify superficiality, indolence, indifference toward the integrity of the enterprise and of the public property of tens of millions of lei entrusted by society to each work collective.

How are secret documents kept? In the office of the supply service (department chief Iulian Vilceanu), in an open file cabinet, we found files on the raw materials and other materials needed for production this year, as well as a section of the supply plan. In the same office, we found other file cabinets wide open, some with keys in their locks. The files "secured" in this manner contain data on imports, copies of contracts with foreign firms, technical records on products for export, etc. In the sales department, the file cabinet is locked with a padlock and the key is in a nearby drawer (unlocked, of course)!

The respective employees have long since gone home, without any thought of such flagrant violations of the law and of discipline. We cannot help but compare this lamentable manner in which the worksite of the respective functionaries has been left with the exemplary order in which we found the equipment of the workers. Another question: do these people leave their doors at home open and accessible to everyone? We do not think so.

We presented these conclusions to the director of the enterprise for ventilators, Comrade Gheorghe Serban; he was justifiable distressed. We understand, but the law refers firmly--and with justification--to the responsibilities of the heads of the units, to the need for constant and exacting control in this year. A control which has been proven, in this case, to be completely inadequate, considering the serious violations discovered. We have been assured that the most severe measures will be taken to strengthen order and discipline. We await them so that we can inform the public.

A few observations: in the "Electromagnetica" plant, the majority of keys belonging to the TESA [technical, economic, specialized and administrative] departments were not on the specially-constructed board. In this case, how

could the respective offices be inspected, in order to prevent fires, for example? Or how could action be taken in the case of an accident? By breaking the windows?

In most of the enterprises we visited we found various memoranda, blank delivery slips, etc. It is true that these documents are not job secrets. But if they fall into the hands of crooks they can be used--and this has happened many times--for all kinds of swindles. Is it so difficult to keep them under lock and key? In the final analysis, it is a matter of elementary discipline of the workplace.

The safekeeping of documents of a secret nature, the ensuring of the integrity of the property of each enterprise are duties of the greatest responsibility, which are enscribed as such not only by law but also by our moral code of work and life. These obligations should be matters of constant concern for the party organs and organizations, and for the workers councils.

CSO: 2700/223

YUGOSLAVIA

CRITERIA FOR NAMING OF FEDERAL OFFICIALS UNDER STUDY

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1624, 14 Feb 82
pp 12-14

[Interview with Ivo Senjanovic, president of the Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments, by Jug Grizelj]

[Text] For the first time, the Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments is preparing concrete criteria for selecting and appointing federal officials. Ivo Senjanovic, the president of the Commission pointed out several dilemmas: "College graduate or not, foreign language knowledge or now, and should we set an age limit for 'ministers?'"

Last week the public's attention was drawn by information from the session of the Yugoslav Assembly's Commission for Elections and Appointments, which was published under the very catching titles "Must Ministers Know Foreign Languages?", "Criteria for members of the Federal Executive Council," and "College for Ministers as Well." From these articles it was obvious that the responsible commission, in lively discussion, had been determining what concrete qualities should be possessed by members of the Federal Executive Council, directors of the Yugoslav National Bank and the Public Accounting Office of Yugoslavia, etc. In this they had particular difficulty regarding criteria relating to whether all the officials should have high specialized preparation, and whether they should know a major world language.

This is the first time the Yugoslav Assembly has discussed concrete qualifications for federal officials. In previous years, this was largely a topic for stormy debate at closed sessions, or else a topic discussed by officials appointed to the Federal Executive Council, sometimes even after their time in office was over! To the question posed by reporters 7 years ago to Nisim Konfin, the long-term chief of staff of three FEC presidents (Spiljak, Ribicic and Bijedic) as to the basic qualifications for work in the Federal Executive Council, he responded: "Readiness for exceptional exertion, great physical and mental tension and work day and night." A FEC member whom a reporter caught there by chance added: "And he must be ready in advance to accept the blame for those things he is guilty of, and for things for which he is not guilty."

A former FEC president (who did not want his name to be mentioned) recently asked our question as to whether his government had had the best possible people by saying, "I knew exactly what sort of people I wanted, but I did not know how to get them."

Once, after the discussion of the new concept of federation, at the Brioni meetings attended by many of the most prominent theoreticians and practitioners, the dilemma was posed as to whether FEC members should be "politicians" or "experts." Behind that probably stood the fundamental dilemma of a political government or a bureaucratic government. The concept that prevailed holds that the Yugoslav government should be composed of politicians who are experts.

Special Criteria

Now for the first time a discussion has been initiated as to what qualities ministers should have. Accordingly, we asked Ivo Senjanovic, president of the Commission for Elections and Appointments, what was the impetus for this Commission, and thereby the Federal Assembly, to open this topic for debate, and if that meant that our experiences have dictated the need to define and institute certain criteria.

[Senjanovic] The immediate impetus for the discussion to begin in our commission on proposing and selecting candidates for specific functions in federal agencies and organizations whose membership is selected and appointed by the Yugoslav Assembly was not in any way either the positive or negative experiences of the members of the commission itself. We, or rather the Assembly of which we are a commission, are directly responsible through the "Social Agreement" (signed in November 1981) on the creation of cadre policies in federal agencies and organizations and agencies of sociopolitical organizations in the federation to approve narrow, special criteria for the nomination and selection of candidates for functions in federal administrative agencies and federal organizations. To be precise, in accordance with this social agreement, which was signed at the SAWPY, the general criteria are determined, and the Yugoslav Assembly is assigned the task of defining the special criteria for all the officials it nominates and appoints. That is how the discussion on the so-called special criteria came about.

Who's Who: Officials Selected by the Yugoslav Assembly

President of the Yugoslav Assembly	1
Vice Presidents of the Yugoslav Assembly	5
Presidents of the Councils of the Yugoslav Assembly	2
Vice Presidents of the Councils of the Yugoslav Assembly	2
Presidents of Joint Task Forces of the Assembly's Councils	6
Presidents of Permanent Committees of the Assembly's Councils	20
President and Members of the Federal Executive Council	29
Members of the Federation Council	133
President and Justices of the Yugoslav Constitutional Court	14
President of Justices of the Federal Court	14
Total	226

[Question] Can it be said that events took a very radical turn, at least in the task force?

[Senjanovic] In the course of the discussion, there were various viewpoints, and quite a few were contradictory. It is true that at one phase, in our working group the prevailing view was that all FEC members should have advanced technical training and should know a major world language. But this was later dropped in agreement with representatives of the appropriate republic and province commissions, who felt that such requirement would narrow the personnel base, and prevent candidates with extensive work experience from vying for these responsibilities. Such people have the capability to perform these duties, but do not have the formal preparation. These educational requirements were not, however, eliminated in all cases.

Advanced education is already a condition for selection to the Federal Executive Council, with the stipulation that article 7 of the indicated resolution foresees that, except in specially determined cases, advanced education is not to be a condition if the candidate by previous work has proved that he has the special competencies to perform the function for which he is being proposed and chosen.

[Question] If we understood you correctly, in principle all FEC members who control resources, and other officials to whom this applies, must have advanced training, but for most duties a candidate may be proposed and elected who does not meet this condition. For what responsibilities is it proposed that FEC members must unconditionally have a college education?

[Senjanovic] According to our proposal, that applies to officials who administer federal administrative agencies responsible for finances, foreign trade, jurisprudence and government organization, as well as the director of the agency responsible for legislation. A college education is a condition for nominating and selecting a candidate for these offices as well: general director of the Federal Public Planning Office, director of the Yugoslav Public Accounting Office, president and judges of the Federal Court and the federal public prosecutor, the federal public defender, the general secretary of the Yugoslav Assembly, the secretaries of the Yugoslav Assembly's Councils, and the Yugoslav Assembly's Secretary for Legislation.

No Age Limit

[Question] The version of the resolution proposed by Yugoslav Assembly delegates proposes that a certain number of FEC members is obliged to know a major world language. What is the purpose of that?

[Senjanovic] That relates to officials who administer foreign affairs, finances, foreign trade and information services. Thus it is a matter of "ministers" who by the nature of their work are often in contact with foreign representatives.

[Question] We know that in an earlier version of the criteria for selecting FEC members, an age limit was anticipated. The version we have in hand today does not indicate either a minimum or a maximum age as a limiting factor.

[Senjanovic] In the course of the discussion, the opinion prevailed that, despite the fact that the work of the Federal Executive Council involves extreme exertions, it is the duty of every candidate to determine for himself whether he will be able to bear up under those efforts, regardless of his age.

[Question] The special criteria for the position of federal secretary of national defense nowhere mention that he must be a military man. Does that mean that the future secretary for national defense does not have to be a military man?

[Senjanovic] According to the criteria proposed by our commission, he does not have to be a military man, but one of the criteria ("Capability for Leading and Commanding") does give preference to a military man.

[Question] In the long history of the Federal Executive Council, the secretary for information has never been a journalist. Does this proposal foresee such a possibility?

[Senjanovic] I think that that possibility is suggested, particularly where the special qualifications indicate that a candidate for the secretary of information should have "practical experience in the area of information."

[Question] The following question must also be posed: In a number of European countries (from Sweden to Italy) there are numerous examples where the position of minister, and even president of the government, is held by people without any diplomas. How then is it that we are now insisting on college preparation?

[Senjanovic] In my opinion, in a country such as we have not yet become, in a country of sufficient cultural traditions, habits and responsibilities, probably neither the general or the specific criteria would not be necessary. All of that could be left to the conscience of the citizen who is running for office or being nominated as a candidate for some duty. Experience teaches us, however, that we are not yet in that phase.

Officials Selected by the Yugoslav Assembly

Total No: 226 Number of Women 14 Number below 27 years of age --

Survey According to Republic or Province Representation and National Composition

Nationality	Republic or Province								ALL
	Bosnia and Hercegovina	Monte- negro	Croatia	Macedonia	Slovenia	Serbia proper	Kosovo	Vojvodina	
Montenegrins		33	1				3		37
Croats	7		29			1			37
Macedonians				25					25
Muslims	4								4
Slovenes					30				30
Serbs	17		6			35	3	11	72
Albanians				1		1	9		11
Hungarians								1	1
Turks									
Yugoslavs	4		2			2		1	9
Others									
Totals	32	33	38	26	30	39	15	13	226

[Question] There is one other question: There is nothing more logical than the hypothesis that the persons responsible for the composition of the Federal Executive Council should be higher than all others in order to select the most capable, most specialized collaborators. Does the structure of written criteria that is being suggested by the Commission not mean a restriction on the responsible selectors?

[Senjanovic] We know that many persons responsible for the composition of the Federal Executive Council in the past knew exactly what sort of FEC members they wanted, but they were unable to get them. We believe that this proposal will only offer assistance to the selectors so that they can get the best and most capable people.

Time Spent in Federal Work

Total time	up to 4 years	4-8 years	8-12 years	more than 12 years
In federal agencies	54	36	27	105
In present agency or organization	27	78	27	44

Participation in the National Liberation War

Total No of veterans	Of those:		
	With the 1941 decoration	participation since 9 May 43	participation since 9 Sep 43
205	170	24	11

Total Number of LCY members: 223

Average age of present FEC members upon election: 53.2 years*

*Average ages in other countries for government officials: Sweden 51.9
Italy 53.5
FRG 52.5

[Question] If we have looked over the schedule right, it seems that this set of proposed criteria will be at the Assembly only sometime in March. Won't comrade Milka Planinc and her team be about finished selecting candidates by that time?

[Senjanovic] That is true. We expect that these proposed criteria for selecting federal officials will only be in effect for the next Federal Executive Council. Yet regardless of the formal legal moment of their effectiveness, we think that this discussion in public and at official forums has already had its impact on the conscience and on future practice.

12131

CSO: 2800/278

'RILINDJA' PUBLISHES POPULATION, STUDENT, EMPLOYMENT DATA

Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 6 Mar 82 pp 4, 5, 6

[Excerpt]

(1) Popullsia sipas përbërjes nacionale në KSA të Kosovës në bazë të regjistrimeve të viteve 1961, 1971 e 1981. ¹⁾

	1961		1971		1981	
(2) GJITHSEJT	963988	100,0	1243693	100,0	1584558	100,0
(3)- shqiptarë	646631	67,1	916168	73,7	1227424	77,5
(4)- serbë	227016	23,5	228264	18,3	209792	13,2
(5)- malazezë	37588	3,9	31555	2,5	26875	1,7
(6)- turq	25764	2,7	12244	1,0	12578	0,8
(7)- muslimanë	8026	0,8	26357	2,1	58948	3,7
(8)- të tjerë	18963	2,0	29105	2,4	48941	3,1

(9) 1) Të dhënat e mësipërme të regjistrimit të banorëve, familjeve dhe banesave në vitin 1981; Publikimi "Rezultatet e regjistrimit të banorëve, familjeve dhe banesave në vitin 1981"-Buletini, nr.14, fq.10.

[Key on following page]

Key:

1. Population According to Nationality in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo Based on Population Registration in 1961, 1971 and 1981
2. Total
3. Albanian
4. Serb
5. Montenegrin
6. Turk
7. Moslem
8. Other
9. Data obtained from registration of dwellings, families and population in 1981; published in "Results of Registration of Dwellings, Families and Population in 1981" - Bulletin No 14, p 10

STUDENTET E CILET STUDIOJNE NE KSA TE KOSOVES
SIPAS PERBERJES NACIONALE NE VITIN SHKOLLOR
1980/81

(11) (10)			(13)			
	Gjithsejt	%	TE RREGULLT	%	ME KORRESPONDENCE	%
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
GJITHSEJT	42.700	100	28.227	100	14.473	100
Shqiptarë	30.724	71,95	21.358	75,66	9.366	64,71
Serbë	7.107	16,64	3.829	13,56	3.278	22,64
Malazezë	1.766	4,13	998	3,53	768	5,30
Turq	300	0,07	215	0,76	91	0,62
Muslimanë	1.974	4,62	1.328	4,70	646	4,46
Romë	38	0,08	25	0,08	13	0,08
Të tjerë	562	0,13	263	0,93	299	2,06
Shtetas të buj	223	0,52	211	0,74	12	0,82

(16) STRUKTURA NACIONALE E BURSISTËVE NE KSA TE KOSOVES

Viti shk.	GJITHS.	%	Shqip.	%	Serb.	%	Malaz.	%	Turq	%	Musl.	%	Romë	%	Të t.j.	%
1978	6871	100	5492	79,93	1072	15,60	162	2,35	60	0,87	47	0,68	5	0,07	33	0,48
1980	4966	100	4037	81,29	656	13,20	131	2,63	45	0,90	48	0,96	8	0,16	41	0,82

(18) STRUKTURA NACIONALE E STUDENTËVE TË CILET KANE SHFRYTEZUAR KREDITE NE KSA TE KOSOVES

Viti shk.	GJITHS.	%	Shqip.	%	Serb.	%	Malaz.	%	Turq	%	Musl.	%	Romë	%	Të t.j.	%
1978/79	6595	100	5576	84,54	546	8,27	167	2,53	103	1,56	90	1,36	-	-	113	1,71
1980/81	6640	100	5379	81,00	614	9,24	216	3,25	144	2,16	178	2,68	-	-	119	1,79

(19) PASQYRA E VENDOSJES SE STUDENTËVE NE KONVIKTET E STUDENTËVE SIPAS STRUKTURES NACIONALE

Viti shk.	GJITHS.	%	Shqip.	%	Serb.	%	Malaz.	%	Turq	%	Musl.	%	Romë	%	Të t.j.	%
1981/82	3889	100	3536	90,90	76	1,90	26	0,66	12	0,30	169	4,34	1	0,02	69	1,77

Key:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 10. Students Studying in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo According to Nationality in the 1980/81 School Year | 17. School Year |
| 11. Total | 18. Nationality Structure of Students Using Credit Grants |
| 12. Regular | 19. Students in Student Dormitories According to Nationality |
| 13. Correspondence | |
| 14. Romanies | |
| 15. Foreign citizens | |
| 16. Nationality Structure of Students Receiving Stipends | |

(20) PËRBERJA NACIOIALE E PERSONAVE TE CILIST KENKONE FINE 1)									
Kombësia		1977		1978		1979		1980	
(22) GITHS. %		GITHS. %		GITHS. %		GITHS. %		GITHS. %	
1977		1978		1979		1980		1981 (30.VI.)	
Shtetëtarë		43687		48590		52926		52170	
Serbë		10124		11216		11812		10202	
Malazezë		1471		1491		1405		1267	
Turq		380		412		464		447	
Muslimanë		547		691		1228		872	
Romë		573		982		1361		1301	
Të tjerë		692		610		590		800	
GITHS.		53812		57474		63992		67143	
1) Muslimanët dhe romët në vitin 1977 janë përfshirë si të tjerë.		100,0		100,0		100,0		100,0	

Key:

- 20. Nationality of Persons Seeking Work
- 21. Nationality
- 22. Total
- 23. Moslems and Romanies in 1977 are included in "other"

x

(24) STRUKTURA E POPULLSISE DHE E PUNETOREVE NE KOSOVE				
	(25) Numri i banorëve	%	(26) Numri i të punësuar.	%
Shqiptarë	1.227.424	77,4	114.591	64,9
Serbë	209.792	13,3	45.183	25,9
Malazezë	26.875	1,7	7.447	4,3
Turq	12.578	0,8	2.246	1,3
Muslimanë	58.948	3,7	2.729	1,3
Të tjerë	48.941	3,1	4.198	2,3

Key:

- 24. Structure of Population and Employed Persons in Kosovo
- 25. Population
- 26. Employed Persons

CSO: 2100/53

END